ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the role of rural primary school teachers in community development activities within an integrated rural education centres project (IRECs) in southern Sudan.

The study explores five areas of importance for an extended teacher's role in rural areas: (i) the school or community environment, (ii) community perception of the teacher's role and its expectations of the school, (iii) teachers' perception of their own role in the community, (iv) teachers' satisfaction and morale, and (v) the influence of teachers social attributes (age, sex, ethnicity and language), previous general education and professional training programmes.

An eclectic methodology was adopted. Various indicators were developed to assess the influence of the above factors on teachers' involvement in community development work. Of particular interest were indicators of (i) teacher leadership abilities, (ii) involvement in community organizations, (iii) teacher status and prestige, (iv) measures of adoption of new practices among teachers and the community and (v) teacher satisfaction and morale.

It is argued that for teachers to exercise leadership, they need to have high status in the community, they must be seen to influence decisions and control of scarce resources, they need to have the necessaary pedagogic skills, and must be committed to working with rural people.

The study further concludes that projects like IRECs which, are often centrally planned and controlled often take insufficient account of the existing realities in rural areas regarding the attitudes, expectations and felt needs of the rural masses and the development situations prevailing in rural communities. Such projects are often based on too categoric premises about the nature of rural problems. IRECs exaggerated the capacity of the rural primary school teachers as change agents and did little to improve the status of these agents. Hence, there remained a wide discrepancy between the project intentions and what was actually implemented and realised by the project.

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INTRODUCTION

Research relevant to the study of the "Extended teacher role" is scanty, but much has been written on the topic mainly in the form of debate between 'optimists' and 'pessimists'. The general issue in the controversy is 'how education can best be utilized to serve development in the rural areas: should teachers and schools concentrate on their traditional functions of transmitting knowledge, skills, values and attitudes based on the usual school syllabus or should they attempt to approach development needs in a more direct manner by extending the traditional roles of the school and the teacher? So far the debate has not been resolved.

in 1977, an educational innovation, 'The Integrated Rural Education Centre Project' (IREC) was launched in the Sudan. The main objective of the project is to improve the living conditions of the rural members of the community, through the extension of the traditional roles of rural primary school teachers, to include some community development tasks, such as agricultural extension, health and adult education.

The aim of this study is to investigate:

(i) the involvement of (IREC) project teachers in community development tasks - as specified by the project proposals and in which they (IREC Teachers) have been trained.

(ii) The involvement of non-IREC teachers in community activities either consciously or unconsciously but which could be utilized effectively as basis for future training of IREC teachers.

In studying 'teacher's involvement' and 'potential for involvement' in community activities, a number of factors have been taken into account, as a means of gathering the necessary information from official and non-official sources, and from interviews, questionnaires and observations, in order to

provide a framework for analysis and drawing conclusions. These factors are (i) The Community environment; (2) The Community perceptions of teachers' role; (3) Teachers' perception of their role; (4) The quality of the rural primary schools and the resources available in the schools; (5) Teacher satisfaction with the profession and (6) The social and professional attributes of the teachers in relation to their community development involvement.

However, education and training are naturally seen to play central roles in developing the human and social resource base. Education is seen to fulfil the needs of children, youth and adults in improving their living conditions by making them aware of their environment. it is increasingly being realized that "Man must be the 'subject' as well as the 'object' of development (Unesco, Paris, 1980)". Nyerere (1976) aptly observed that:

> 'People cannot be developed. They can only develop themselves..... An outsider cannot give a man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create for himself by his own actions'.

This implies that one cannot develop people from the top, but it is the people at the local levels who should decide, plan and work cooperatively for their own development. Teachers, no doubt are expected to play important roles at the local levels as leaders. Hence, the launching of rural development programmes which emphasize the extension of rural primary school teachers' role to include community development work far and above their traditional classroom activities. But how realistic is this rhetoric?

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study has a number of objectives:

First it critically examines the proposals contained in the IRECs project documents. In particular attention was paid to the implications of the project proposals for the rural primary school teachers, the expectations, the methods used to train the teachers, the extent to which the project included in its proposals measures to improve teachers leadership organizational roles, enhance teachers' ability to implement the specific project objectives such as provision of teaching aids, materials, equipment and determination of problems encountered and how they were resolved.

The second objective of the study is to determine teachers' ability to implement some aspects of the project objectives and to ascertain whether a general perception of their role and ability to implement project objectives prevailed among them. Here an attempt was made to identify factors which influenced teachers ability to implement or failure to implement, by relating these factors to teacher involvement in community development tasks.

The third objective of the study is to determine which category of teachers would be better change agents if selected for community work. Here an attempt was made to relate teachers biographical and educational variables to a number of teachers leadership, and organizational role indicators, patterns of teacher interaction with members of the community and the extent to which various categories of teachers were held at high esteem by the various members of the community.

The fourth objective is concerned with the extent to which IRECs teachers carried out their community development tasks in the community. Some measure of teachers opinions about the success of the project and its replication on a wider scale. Also included was an assessment of attitude of the community towards the project and the teachers involved in the project.

The last objective of the study was based on the assumption that, in order for IRECs teachers to be effective change agents in their respective

communities, they should not only teach what the project expected them to do, but to demonstrate what they teach their pupils in their own homes on their own land and in their behaviour. So an attempt was made to investigate the teachers' lifestyle as 'potential models' of modern man. Emphasis was laid on certain aspects which could be observed, for instance, modern agricultural practices, health and home upkeep.

Finally, the study included in its sample non-IREC group of schools and teachers for comparison. The schools were selected from within the district. The idea was to determine the extent to which non-IRECs teachers who had not been trained for community development activities actually did perform some of the activities specified in the IRECs project. In this way it was thought possible to determine the overall ability of rural primary school teachers in the district to act as potential change agents or otherwise.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The research is concerned with two groups of teachers: Those trained as project teachers and those in the conventional primary schools and their role as community leaders.

Chapter one: examines the socio-economic characteristics of the Sudan and the role of education in development with reference to major theories concerned with development. Some highlights on Sudan's internal political tensions and uneven development. The chapter concludes with discussion on search for new 'educational strategy' and the influence of donor agencies on the new education innovation (IRECs) in the Sudan.

Chapter two narrows the focus with a description and analysis of the IREC project. In particular the implications of the project objectives to the teacher and the expectations of the project of the teachers.

Chapter three deals with the research problem, states some assumptions and defines 'teacher involvement and participation' in decision-making. The rest of the chapter is devoted to discussion of hypothesis

Chapter four of the thesis attempts a description of the methodology, justifications of the study, definition and description of variables are discussed.

Chapter five examines the extent to which teacher education and training are geared to community development work. The chapter discusses the general school and teacher training curriculum and their implications to teacher involvement in community development activites.

Chapter six examines and discusses the quality of primary school teachers and the schools in the Maridi district and implications for their community role. In particular attention has been paid to discussion of teachers social and professional attributes, school resource materials, teachers' general conditions of service and general satisfaction with teaching occupation in the rural areas. This discussion is based on field data.

Chapter seven examines teacher's community development role in terms of social attributes, such as age and sex; the main attempt in the chapter is to present some social psychology of teaching in southern Sudan and its relevance to the 'extension' of teachers role to include community development work.

Chapter eight concentrates on evaluating teacher involvement in community development tasks. The main issues included are teacher's leadership and organizational roles, teacher status and prestige, adoption of modern agricultural and health practices and home upkeep.

Chapter nine assesses community members' views and attitudes to involvement of teachers in out-reach community activities. The extent to

which members regard teachers as teachers and therefore as 'change agents', and the extent to which teachers are held at high esteem by community members are discussed.

Chapter ten looks at teacher (IREC) involvement in community development activities through IREC project. It examines how the project was implemented, teachers' opinion about the project, problems encountered and how they were resolved. Also included is the assessment of provisions in terms of school equipment and materials, their appropriateness to the local environment. Lastly how successful is the project?

Chapter eleven, looks at the impact of gradual administration and financial arrangement on the implementation of IREC project. It describes the relationship between central and local governments in the administration of education projects and flow of cash.

The concluding chapter attempts an overview of the thesis with particular attention focused upon the salient features of the study, major factors influencing teacher involvement in community development tasks. Factors arising from within the school environment and outside in the wider society; the role of teachers in the society at a time or massive social change. The last part of the chapter deals with recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER ONE

1. EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

This chapter focuses on one question: what part did education play in the development of southern Sudan? An indepth understanding of the role that education has played in development of this region, requires an analysis of the country's political, economic and historical contexts.

Within Sudan there is a wide diversity in cultures (African & Arabic), availability and distribution of resources, historical patterns of Colonialism, types of national governments, policy emphasis and dual systems of education, Western and Islamic. The primary actors in the policy emphasis and orientations were the colonialists and the northern Sudanese politicians. Each has had their hey days in orientation of education. The impact of these policy orientations and emphasis has been considerable on development and the people of southern Sudan.

Another factor of equal importance has been noted by Bray et al (1986) : International relationships. They pointed out that during the colonial period there were obvious links between African countries and events in Europe. With political independence, however, the nature of these relationships has changed but international forces are still highly significant and some have become even more important.

When the colonialists came and controlled Sudan, they devised a dual system of education and economic development policies. One in the northern Sudan for the Arabs, under the control of the colonial administration and the other for the Africans in the south Sudan under the monopoly of various christian missionary groups. The colonial administration regarded the dual patterns of separate development as a political necessity if the northern Sudanese were to maintain their Arabic - Islamic heritage (Lugard, 1921) and

if the southerners were to remain in responsible hands of the missionaries, away from the Islamic influences and to retain their indigenous culture.

Although a colonial administrative system had been established in the south in 1900 the administration did not develop a well defined educational and economic development policy. The education policy at the time was to administer as little as possible (Sanderson, 1962). There was never any doubt as to 'what kind of education was to be given, but whether there could be any education in southern Sudan. Sanderson noted that the government policy sought to tolerate education rather than encourage it.

In economic terms, the southern Sudan at the time did not appeal to the 'official mind of British imperialism' (Sanderson, G.N, 1956). The territory was regarded as a 'useless territory which would be difficult and costly to administer properly'. This negative attitude was further expressed by the British representative in Cairo at the time, that 'the good governments of the wild tribes in the interior, even the possession of districts which may be commercially productive, are, relatively speaking of minor importance (Al Raham, 1956)'. They held that in 'dealing with African savage tribes, we are dealing with a people who are practically at the genesis of things and we cannot expect to lift them in a few years' (Memo 533/63 on Native Policy, 1900). So gradual development was perceived to be an ideal policy in the south but not in the north where Islam and Arabism were seen culturally compatible with economic development (Mohamed, O.B 1966).

In fact, to the Europeans in the former Colonial Sudan, the southerners represented a somewhat lower form of species than the Arabs. In this respect, the colonialists and their allies the Missionaries in the southern Sudan believed that, the southerners were primitive, backward and uncivilized and thus needed to be assisted in their development along the same path as traversed by their own societies as suggested by Rostow (1960).

This gradual concept of development of the early 20th century has been used during the colonial era in the southern Sudan unlike in the north, to

explain and justify the behaviour of the Europeans towards the south in particular, with respect to keeping them in their pre-industrial stage while using their lowly educated manpower and material resources to support and sustain colonialism and further industrialization in the North and in the mother country.

The colonial administration intentionally developed the North largely for its own needs in England. For example, the British economic policy in the north was directed towards the creation of an export-oriented economy of primary goods solely based on agriculture. Gezira scheme was set up in 1925 to produce cotton for Lancashire cotton industry. It has been argued by various commentators (Bray, Clerke and Stephens, 1986; Fagerlind and Saha, 1983; Baram, 1957 Galtung, 1971; and others) that, the rich countries became rich because they exploited and actively under-developed the poor ones.

Rodney (1978) in "How Europe under-developed Africa", asserted that despite some transfer of resources and general increase in educational levels, this process continues today and international economic relationships are still heavily biased in favour of the rich countries. Northern Sudan despite its advanced stage of development over the south, experiences this economic dominance and exploitation.

The process through which developing countries are linked to rich developed countries is the fundamental focus of what is now known as 'dependency theory', (Gutland, 1973). Nevertheless the concept of dependency has been presented in various forms including the Marxist-Leninist view, the Anti-colonial to Delinker's and the sub-optimists. A useful categorization appears in Hurst (1984) where he gave forms of dependency - Economic and Cultural, both are useful to this discussion.

During the 1950s and 1960s, lack of economic development in Sudan in general was seen in terms of lack of industry, capital, and a reasonably trained manpower necessary for economic growth. It was assumed that these missing ingredients could be acquired from the rich countries in the form of

aid or loans in order to establish the economic base. Substantial amounts of loans and aid were made available to developing countries including Sudan, but only a minimal economic development was achieved. Amir (1973) pointed out the reasons as being, first, most investments were in construction, public works and other items rather than in directly productive processes, and secondly because a high proportion of profits was removed from the country by multi-national corporations.

Fagerlind and Saha (1983) have noted that, according to dependency theory the transfer of resources can occur in many ways, including, plunder, colonial or neo-colonial relationships, or the operations of multi-national cooperatives. Furthermore dependency theory focuses on the process whereby the condition of the less developing regions and countries in the world are seen to be caused by the activities of the rich countries. The process whereby the Metropolis dominates the countryside within a country is identical to that which occurs between countries. In this regard, northern Sudan is to Europe and the United States as the south is to the northern Sudan.

The colonial behaviour as discussed here, of necessity introduced an element of dependency between Sudan and the colonial power. It also introduced dependency between the south and the north as regards social, cultural, political and economic structures. It has legitimised regional disparities as well.

For instance, in the post independence era, the education in the south which was based on English was effectively brought under central government control in Khartoum. Arabic language replaced English as the official language of the south. It was claimed by the northern Arab elite that Christian missionary education in the south was inconsistent with the Islamic context and therefore there was a need to review its relevance. As far back as 1939, the Graduate Congress, a political mouthpiece of the northern elites stated that:

> Education in the south should be oriented towards the Arab and Islamic, but not African culture, because the Sudan has much in common with the Arabic countries of Islamic orient. p. 152.

It was then that in 1953, with a predominantly Arab government, a new policy was formulated. The first Sudanese Minister for Education duly announced the first national educational policy which aimed at the unification of the educational system, the arabization of its curriculum and instruction and the islamization of the southern Sudan.

However, the essence of the new policy was that the south had for a very long time been a christian monopoly. This was contrary to Arabists movement in the southern Sudan who saw in the independence of the Sudan a chance to convert all the different ethnic groups in the Sudan to Islam and to assimilate them through an Arabic education. The adoption and implementation of these policies were to place the south not only in an educational dilemma but in administrative, economic and social subjugation. Since independence, as already seen, the northerners had forged ahead of the southerners. Thus assuming cultural and economic superiority over the southerners and perhaps driven by Arabism and Islamic's long traditions (also respected and protected by the colonial power) and glorification, centralised all powers in their hands in the north. The methods devised were to control the total machinery of the government, trade and commerce through administrative policies and manipulations. Legislations and decrees were passed to control reactionary activities in the south between 1956 and 1964.

The six successive national governments were aware that it would be impossible to change the Christians and traditional believers in the south without repressive measures. This took many forms such as regulations of missionary and local clergy activities, reversal of Sundays as working days and observations of Fridays as holidays, replacement of English as language of instruction by Arabic, central control of curriculum, arbitrary arrests and

atrocities. In brief, these are some of the factors which have led to the long standing political crisis in the Sudan, consequently resulting in two civil wars.

However, the most important issue is that the southerners, did not resent the northerners just because they could read and write, but because they had better jobs, job opportunities, more money and control over the destiny of the country. That they were Arabs and Muslims only added to the southern resentment. Furthermore, it was not merely a matter of politics, the more highly educated northerners who were better off financially and therefore secure, began to develop a sense of cultural identity. Secondly, the concentration of government head offices, centres of education, commerce, trade and politics in the north, led to the rising of a national culture and identity, which, sadly to say, was Islamic and abhored southern cultures.

Clearly, the colonialists in Sudan failed to realize the importance of the type of education given to the southerners. Both their economic and educational policies led to the under-development of the south, which in later years has made the south too dependent on the north. For example, the south has always been the source of cheap labour for the industrial development in the north. The Fabian Colonial Bureau report of 1945, stated that:

> The problem of the south is the biggest human difficulty in the country. Educated Sudanese (North) regarded the south as Egypt regarded them.... The South, like the Northern Sudan to Egypt is also a source of cheap labour and servants. p.25.

Dependency of the south on the north was particularly legitimised by the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, (Political Settlement) where the south has to seek for capital (finances), manufactured goods and essentially the current famine in the south is a clear indication of dependency of the south

on the north from where the much needed grain, the south needs for survival has been impounded by the civil war ranging in the south against Arab domination.

To sum up, dependency sees the obstacles to development not in the traditional and backward nature of society, but in the subordinate and marginalised role that poor countries or regions like the southern Sudan have in the world economic order. Freire (1972) argued that the strategy for developing poor regions should not exclude industrialization but rather to adopt an approach which would attempt to avoid the dependency associations with the international economy and perhaps an approach which focused on agriculture and the rural areas as spaces where dependency might be most easily avoided.

The theory also looks at the processes of improvement and enrichment which characterizes existing relationships of inequality as between the north and south, and sees both processes as obstacles to development process. Dudley Seer's (1972) suggestion that development should mean reduction of inequality, poverty and unemployment, gives a new dimension to dependency theory and definition of development.

A similar theory advanced in the post independence era was Modernization theory. Though the theory postulates the study of the processes whereby communities have and continued to become 'modern', it nevertheless is multi-faceted and has been conceptualized in a variety of forms in different academic disciplines. The theory however, can be explained in brief in two forms:

(i) One a political level : Modernization implied replacement of large numbers of traditional, religious, family and ethnic authorities and values by a single, secular national authorities and the development of democracy.

(ii) One an economic level : it includes the growth of industries, use of capital-intensive technologies, concentration of

decision-making and high specialization and the interdependence of labour, (Fagerlind and Saha, 1983).

The conceptualization of modernization is beset with confusion. Some authors have seen it as industrialization in the western forms, and have defined it both in terms of factory organization structure and the utilization of inanimate power in the improvement of human productivity (Levy, 1966; Nash, 1973). Others, however have chosen to define modernization as a form of human adaptation and the increasing use of man's rationality and knowledge in mastering his environment (Black, 1966).

Inkeles and Smith (1974) perceived modernization essentially as a social psychological process through which a country becomes modern only after its population has adopted modern attitudes, values and beliefs. They outlined twelve traits which a modern person should possess, such as openess to new experience, readiness for social change, awareness of the diversity of surrounding attitudes and opinions, respect for dignity, are few examples.

In the context of southern Sudan, the colonial administration saw the missionaries as agencies through which the administration could civilize the south through educaton, which was designed to foster elements of commonsense, good behaviour and obedience to authority. Wingate (Governor General 1902) urged the Missionaries to put emphasis on moral and religious education as these would instil in the native, 'a sense of duty, unswerving integrity and loyalty in the public and private relations of life', (Wingate, 1923). It was therefore clear that African values were incompatible with modern values held by Europeans, and therefore must be replaced with European values and attitudes which were seen to foster development.

Similarly, the Arabs in the north claim cultural superiority over the African south. They argued that, Islamic values plus Arabic language were unifying factors (no tribalism) which had led to the development of the north. Mohammed (1965) justifying the northern case, asserted that the absence of Islam in the south has contributed to the low economic and social status of

the southerners. Clearly, both Europeans and Arabs in the Sudan, saw the south as existing in a cultural vacuum which has to be filled with their cultures considered otherwise as modern.

To sum up, both the Europeans and the Arabs in the Sudan, saw religion, education and cultural imposition as socializing agencies, with values for transforming the primitive southern societies into modern entities. Christianity achieved some measure of success by establishing English as the official language of the south and a large proportion of the population as christians. Islam and Arabic language have met with long standing resistance in the three decades of independence. Lastly, Islamic imposition has led to political crisis and more poverty in the south with the absence of industrial take off.

However, the broadening of the concept of development has brought the theory to be regarded as inappropriate since, in the Sudan it puts emphasis on cultural imposition, control of resources, centralization of powers in the north and non-acceptance of the southerners as equals (Inkeles and Smith, 1974) and ignored the social welfare of the people.

One constraint which seems to impede development, is lack of economic development due to lack of productive capacity of human manpower in the development process. Hence the adoption of Human Capital theory between 1960 and 1970. In the post independence era, Sudan (and particularly the southern part) found itself lacking of educated manpower. This made Human Capital theory attractive. Indeed investment in education became the philosophy of the time.

In brief, Human Capital theory postualates that education and training improve productivity of the labour force when combined with physical capital and that expenditure on education therefore is a form of investment along with investment in physical capital. It also argues that the 'returns to education' can be measured and compared with returns to physical capital in order to guide decision-making intended to promote economic development.

Theodore Schultz (1961) pointed out that education was not to be seen simply as a form of consumption but rather as a form of investment. He contended that education does not only improve the individual choices available to men, but that an educated population provides the types of labour force necessary for industrial development and economic growth.

In the Sudan, during this period, there was the unprecedented expansion of secondary and higher education. In 1961, the total enrollment in primary school was 414,000 or 32 per cent of school age population. In 1971/72 the enrollment had risen to 1,284,531 or 34.9 per cent. The education budget rose to 25.6 per cent of the national budget.

Furthermore, international donor agencies particularly the World Bank (1974) supported the Human Capital theory and encouraged education expansion. This was pointed out by Robert McNamara, the former World Bank president who states in the foreward to its 1974 Education Sector Working Paper that 'ever since the World Bank decided to enter the field of educational development in 1962, its aim has been basically one: to help developing countries reform and expand their education systems in such a way that the latter may contribute more fully to economic growth (World Bank 1974, p. 1).

The theory has been criticized on several grounds but the most important being the methodological difficulties, in particular regarding measurement of the contribution of education to labour quality (see Karabel and Halsey, 1977, Blaug, 1970, 1976 and Vaizey, 1972). In the Sudan the implementation of the theory proved counter productive. First, the impressive enrollment expansion was not matched with greater economic and social development, thus leading to 'diploma disease' as Dore (1976) has called it in a powerful critique. Unemployment surfaced in the country as the economy failed to generate more jobs. Migration from rural to urban areas increased. The unemployment and under-employment of the educated became a widespread problem as more students left school and sought jobs in the limited economic sector.

It is now realized that development means more than economic growth to include social development as well Dudley Seer's (1972) suggestion that development involves a reduction of poverty, inequality and unemployment is useful. This broad definition of development has been adopted by many countries and aid agencies as appropriate.

A comprehensive educational strategy which would alleviate poverty, reduce inequality and unemployment was needed in order to accelerate and bring about a broad based economic development. Attention was turned to mobilizing the rural poor through non-formal education and rural development programmes of various kinds and emphasis. The international donor agencies and in particular the World Bank became increasingly interested in this new kind of education and development strategies, often entailing importation of and experimentation with new foreign models in developing countries.

Before discussing the role of the World Bank in the execution of the programme and its likely influence on the Sudanese educational policy it is necessary to examine the socio-economic position of the country at the time of launching of the programme.

2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SUDAN

(a) Economy

The most significant feature of the Sudanese economy is its dual nature: the traditional or subsistence and the modern production economy.

The UNESCO Educational Investment Programming Mission (1961) pointed out the features of the Sudanese economy, in specific terms were:

(i) low standard of living reflected in the low per capita income of £30 per annum. This was believed to be due to the low agricultural and industrial productivity;

(ii) the predominant role of agricultural and pastoral activities and dependence on a single crop, cotton, for over half of the value of the country's exports;

(iii) the existence in the country of traditional subsistence economies which use little or no modern technology and the population forming a large reserve of disguised unemployment;

(iv) the reliance on imports of consumer goods, raw materials, equipment and a general deficiency of technical skills in the country (op.cit, 1963, p. 11).

Agriculture and particularly cotton is the sole economic asset on which the country depends for its development, mainly to stimulate purchasing power and provide employment for the growing population. But agriculture as the economic backbone suffers from a number of severe problems such as recurrent crop failures due to persistent drought, consistently poor yields, poor technology, low productivity, lack of transport, markets and fluctuating market prices.

Much of what is grown is still based on traditional farming systems. Production is mainly for family consumption and rarely enters into the international market. The systems of land tenure remains a crucial factor in agricultural production. The main issue has been how to raise production. The lack of adequate agricultural policy exemplified in the low agricultural productivity has generally led to the low levels of living for the majority of the people in rural areas.

Another inherent problem in the Sudan is the priority given to the modern sector. Greater investment efforts are centred in urban areas leading to the great differences between the urban and rural peoples and migration from rural to urban areas in search of employment. A survey of migration to Khartoum in 1971 revealed that 75.4 per cent of the migrants came to the capital city for economic reasons (Ahmed, 1975). Of these 27 per cent were looking for jobs, 33 per cent for a better salary and 15 per cent for the urban pleasures of the city.

Thirty per cent of those who came to Khartoum were previously engaged in agriculture or related activities. This meant that potential cultivators were abandoning the rural areas. In 1975, it was indeed apparent that the whole economy was in decline. The agricultural sector which was the backbone of the economy and which used to contribute over 60 per cent of the GNP, contributed just about 40 per cent. The country had an accumulated loan of 87 million pounds. To date 1987 the foreign loan stands at 9 billion US dollars.

b) Population

The population of the Sudan in 1975 was 18 million of which 82 per cent live in rural areas. It was estimated that, about 20 per cent of the population lives in towns. Accurate data are not available, but various estimates suggest that 10 to 40 per cent of the Sudans' population may be on the move at least part of the year. Seven per cent of the populaton is nomadic; the remaining 33 per cent is pastoralist, whose periodic movements are dictated by the availability of water and pastures or seasonal agricultural workers (Sudan, Ministry of Social Affairs, 1975).

Population growth rates varied considerably from one region to another and between provinces. Khartoum province had the highest growth rate at 4.85 per cent a year, followed by the three central provinces of Gezira, Blue Nile and White Nile at 3.5 per cent per year. For the northern region as a whole the reported growth rate was 2.7 per cent compared with 0.34 per cent for the Southern region. The low growth rate for the Southern region is less a reflection of the low fertility than it is an indicator of under-enumeration of the population, because many people who had left their homes in the civil disturbances had not returned by 1973 (Demographic Year Book, 1976). The growth rate for the entire country lies between 2.8 and 3 per cent.

It is widely accepted that a rate of population growth in excess of 2.5 per cent per annum has adverse effects on development. First there must be

greater resources to maintain living levels and secondly, additional resources must be found in order to increase living standards or levels. In practical terms, it means that living levels and quality of life can only be improved if required services such as health, education, employment and others are provided at a significantly faster rate than that at which the population increases. The problem has been made more acute because the population is very young. About 46 per cent of the population is under 15 (1976).

The estimated population density was very low, at 6.9 persons per square mile which has adverse implications for provision of services such as education and health. On the other hand about one half of the population of the country is concentrated in Khartoum, Blue Nile and Kordofgan - Darfur triangle which in 1975 accounted for 40 per cent. This triangle has also experienced greater development and immigration.

Population pressure already exists in the triangle (riverain) area where irrigated agriculture has developed to commercial proportions. At the same time the large majority of the Sudanese who live in the desert and savannah zones, about 80-85 per cent, live in rural areas, under absolute poverty and entirely dependent on agriculture or pastoralism. Illiteracy among this population was reported to be overwhelming.

(c) Health

Despite improvements in health conditions in the Sudan in the recent decades, through provision of medical services and facilities by Ministry of Health and World Health Organization para-medical programmes, the incidence of diseases, malnutrition, high mortality rates and low life expectancy is still unfavourable.

The dominating health problem in Sudan is the prevalence of communicable endemic and epidemic diseases, in combination with poor nutritional status and poor sanitation (UNFPA Report, 1979). The widespread diseases continue to be malaria, gastroenteritis, malnutrition, anaemia,

tuberculosis and pneumonia. Other diseases, such as cerebrospinal, meningitis are confined to rural areas. In spite of on going efforts, there has been no apparent decrease in the prevalence of most of these diseases particularly in the rural areas.

The Southern Region has particular scarcity of health resources to cater for 6 to 7 million people (Census, 1983). There are for example, 26 hospitals, 6 health centres, 137 dispensaries and 260 dressing stations or Primary Health Care Units (PHCU). In this region, the total number of practising physicians is only 49 (1 doctor per 70,000) and 236 Medical assistants (UNFPA Mission Report, 1979).

The Five Year Plan of Economic and Social Development, 1970/71 - 1974/75, provided for increasing the numbers of hospitals and other facilities in the rural areas. Athough some measures have been taken in this area, the health services are still very modest in comparison to the immense preventive and curative tasks, and are confined mainly to the towns and better developed villages. As an account of the vast distances, poor road conditions and transportation difficulties, a large proportion of the population is totally without access to these facilities (UNFPA Mission Report, 1979).

(d) Education

Education in the Sudan, has always been seen as a panacea to socio-economic development since independence in 1956. Since then provision of education facilities and overall expenditure on education has been increasing. The UNESCO Investment Programming Mission (1961) called for widespread improvements in all spheres of the economy and in social and educational sectors. In 1961, the total enrollment in primary schools was 414,000 or 32 per cent of school age population (op.cit. 12). In 1971/72 the total enrollment had risen to 1,284,53 ro 34.9 per cent a rise of 2.9 per cent. Clearly, population growth had been high during this period and there was

greater awareness among parents about the value of education giving rise to popular demand for education.

However, this impressive increase in enrollment between 1961 and 1971 concealed many problems. Enrollment had not been matched with greater social and economic development. Unemployment surfaced as a problem. Migration from rural to urban areas increased. The unemployment of the educated became a new problem and continued to rise.

It was claimed that a very important factor behind migration and urban unemployment was the level and the type of development of the education system since independence. On one hand the education system developed along the same old colonial lines which aimed at producing clerks and general administrators. Furthermore, the rate of expansion, especially of secondary and higher education has been so high that however dynamic the economy was, it could not absorb such a high inflow of labour in non-manual jobs. On the other hand, it has been claimed that education leads to a despite for manual work and to great ambition for the rewards of higher education (Ahmed, 1975).

In 1970 a reform of the education system took place. The reform only aimed at extending primary schooling from four to six years. It ignored some of the more crucial issues such as teacher education and training, quality of textbooks and curriculum relevance. The net result of the reform in quantitative terms meant that students in the primary schools had to stay longer at school, hence postponing their entry into employment or unemployment by two years.

In the final analysis the reform did little to solve development problems. If anything it created new ones. It was then realised that what was needed for accelerating economic development was creation of a reasonably literate and trained agricultural labour force which could till the land with high productivity and expand the cropped area without using expensive and capital extensive techniques of production (Ahmed, 1975).

In policy terms, this meant that Sudan should concentrate on expanding primary schools with additional training in vocational subjects. Though some economists (Eikan (ILO) 1973) would argue that for African countries investing heavily in primary education would be a waste, Ahmed (1975) claimed that for Sudan, any expansion in formal education should be directed towards primary education. He pointed out that primary education was necessary for any country which wanted to 'take off economically'.

The country (1975) was already spending 25.6 per cent of its annual budget on education with the aim of attaining universal primary education by the year 1990. However, this proposition appears most unlikely judging from the prevailing circumstances in the system and the economic prospects. The hight degrees of wastage, exemplified in the high dropout and low retention rates in the primary school system indicated internal inefficiency of the system and its failure to meet the needs and aspirations of the people.

Report on Education in the Southern Sudan (Garvey-Williams, 1976) described the situation in primary schools as follows:

> Schools were commonly overcrowded, especially in the lower classes, it lacked even the minimum material requirements for effective teaching.

About teachers, the report said that there was:

> gross shortage of teachers and the teaching force was considerably diluted by a large number of untrained staff.

The Report had this to say on the curriculum:

> The objectives and curricula were limited and ill-defined, failing to match the needs of the present day society

The Report concluded that:

> For the most part the system was only marginally effective, was markedly ineffective, wastefully unproductive and failed to meet the country's requirements of educated manpower.

Although the total proportion of primary school age population actually attending school at the time had increased for the whole country, regional, urban and rural variations persisted. In the more advanced urban areas, particularly in the Khartoum and Blue Nile Provinces, one hundred per cent enrollment had been achieved by 1975. In the least developed rural areas such as the Nuba Mountains and the Nomadic areas of Western and Eastern Sudan, enrollment could be below 10 per cent (Sudanese Education, 1977).

In the Southern Sudan, 22 per cent of school age population (aged 6-12) were at school in 1975 but it was reported that dropout rates, particularly in classes one and two of primary school, were high and that less than 40 per cent of those enrolled in the system completed the six year cycle. After dropout and examinations have taken their toll, only about 5 per cent would be absorbed in the intermediate schools and only 3 per cent would eventually succeed in getting to secondary schools. The system was highly selective and inefficient at worst.

There were many factors which could have influenced the efficiency of the educational system. One of the salient features of the Sudanese educational system like many other developing countries had been its emphatic upward thrust. No level below the tertiary was terminal and every child supported by parental attitudes aspired to move up the ladder to the top. (ILO, Geneva, 1975). Of course, most did not, because the examination system and the rigid urban oriented curriculum, which too often favoured the urban children, left the rural children at the disadvantaged end, doomed to failure.

In the rural areas, the language of instruction further militated against the child, the long distances of schools from homes of the children, the

difficulties of paying school fees and the colossal failures in the examination, all made schooling appear a burden for the rural child. Garvey-Williams (Education in Southern Sudan, 1976) pointed out that 'teaching in rural primary schools is unattractive, and most teachers (51%) were untrained secondary school leavers who teach in rural areas do so very reluctantly.

3. SUDANESE EDUCATIONAL POLICY 1972 - 1977

In response to the economic situation in the country and the ineffectiveness of the educational system to accelerate economic and social development since 1961-71 development plan, the government enacted another educational policy for the period 1972-1977.

The long term goals of the Central Government for education spelt out in the Five Year Plan for the Sudan (Major Trends in Education, 1975) became:

(i) Provision of universal education as a basic right and implementation of compulsory primary education.

(ii) Diversification of higher secondary education, and achievement of a balance between academic education on the one hand and technical and vocational training on the other.

(iii) Implementation of decentralization in educational administration.

(iv) Directing national efforts towards combating illiteracy.

(v) Modernization of education.

The goals for primary school education equally stated:

(i) Provision of opportunity for all boys and girls who have attained school age.

(ii) Raising the pesent admittance ratio of 43.3 per cent to a minimum of 70 per cent as a preliminary measure.

(iii) Raising the overall enrollment ratio in primary schools from 36.9 per cent to a minimum of 50 per cent in 1978.

(iv) Tapping all resources with the object of achieving compulsory education for (all) boys and girls of primary school age (Major Trends in Education, 1975, p.2).

Briefly, the main goals of the 1972-1977 educational policy were the creation of skilled manpower by diversification of secondary education. At the primary education level, the main aim was the provision of greater opportunity for most of school age children and a drive to universal primary education by the end of the century.

However, it became clear to the government that its goals were too ambitious particularly in view of the existing educational gap between the north and south and the unsuitability of the educational system to relate to national development. Hence the government adopted another approach when diversification of education proved too expensive, and funds were inadequate to realize the 50 per cent rise in primary school enrollment by 1978.

The new government approach can be summed as follows:

> One main step taken in this direction is the introduction of practical rural activities in the curriculum of primary education. This involves a great deal of out-of-class work during which children will be allowed to practice crop production, gardening, animal husbandry, poultry-keeping and different local crafts. (Major Trends in Education, 1975, pp. 5-6).

The main objectives of the new policy were:

(i) To acquaint children with some manual skills.

(ii) To help children learn by doing.

(iii) To link their education to the local environment so that a lasting attachment to it can be formed.

(iv) To strengthen the link between the local people and their schools so that the latter can participate fully in educating both the young and grown ups and thus plan their role in the local community development.

(v) To develop the schools where possible, into economically productive units, so that they can maintain themselves, or at least shoulder a reasonable share in that.

In urban areas, industrial activities will take place of rural activities for the same purpose. One important development in this direction was the provision of the Integrated Rural Education Centres in the Sudan, recommended by the Sudanese Education Sector Review of 1977. A study of the educational system conducted jointly by the Sudan Government and the World Bank.

4 INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE PARTICULARLY THE WORLD BANK

The launching of Integrated Rural Education Centre programme in the Sudan appears to be part of an international policy trend of widening the scope of education to include the often neglected rural poor from the mainstream of education. The idea that rural primary schools and teachers could be used more effectively by extending their traditional roles was only one of the many programmes developing countries have been experimenting with in the recent decades.

Many countries in Africa such as Uganda (Namutamba), Sierra Leone (Bunumbu), Tanzania (Kwamisisi), Mali, Upper Volta (Rural Education Centres), Kenya (Village Polytechnics) to mention a few examples (Unesco, 1980) had pilot projects of various models of non-formal education supported by various international aid agencies. Not only were developing countries interested in such education developments in order to accelerate development, but internationally influential concepts of education have lent support to them. For instance, as early as 1897, Dewey (1920) had advocated such a pragmatist approach to education.

He pointed out that 'the school is primarily a social institution' and asserted that 'we are far from realizing the potential efficacy of education as a constructive agency of improving society, from realizing that it represents

not only development of children and youth but also of the future society of which they will be constituents'.

This pragmatist idea of education had favoured a curriculum which related more directly to the pupils own environment and needs outside the school as a potential force for social reconstruction. This line of thought is evident in much of Unesco and other International Aid Agencies publications on the subject (World Bank, 1974, FAO/UNESCO, 1976) in the 1970's. The pragmatists argue that learning is best achieved via real life experience. They advocate a project centred, community based and environmentally oriented curriculum as ideal for all round development of the child. Not surprising that the 'Education Sector Review' in the Sudan used the same words and expressions.

Behind this too, there is the quest to remove alienation of the child from the school. The protagonists view was expressed by Coombs (1975) that:

> Learning in the natural setting, outside of the formal school system, takes place in real life situations while the learning situations created in the school are at best artificial and fail to motivate students. p.18.

Secondly, there had arisen an interest in the integrated rural development, where all sectors including education were to be brought under one umbrella. The emphasis was on education for a number of reasons. First it is argued that community development is an educative process and requires changes in attitudes of the members, that education trains people on the one hand and provides clientele in the form of pupils to benefit from the skills and knowledge at the other end.

Consequently, it was argued that teachers and primary schools were the most numerous and widely dispersed of such agents of governments residing closest to the rural illiterate masses who need to benefit from the

knowledge and skills of the teachers. Another line of reasoning was that teachers have an army of pupils under their control who could transfer the skills and knowledge they have learnt at school and apply them in their homes thus producing a multiplier effect.

But more importantly, the spontaneous interest in non-formal education among aid agencies indicated some disillusionment with formal education and the traditional theory of development pursued by the developing countries in the 1960s. The narrow definition given to development by some western development theorists, largely in terms of modern sector economic growth and capital accumulation was seen inadequate and counter-productive in bringing about a broadly based economic development. It was equally realized that in the 1960s the development aid were being channelled mainly into industrial development (World Bank, 1974) and that the expansion of the modern sector was exacerbating urban unemployment by encouraging migration from rural to urban and national economic growth was not improving the status of the poor quickly and effectively.

It was equally clear during this period that learning through the formal system had perpetuated the existing regional differences, accelerated rural and urban differences and had widened the gap between the poor and the rich. It had done little to alleviate poverty, disease, illiteracy and income disparities. As a result the definition of 'development' was expanded to include the elimination of poverty, disease, illiteracy and income distribution (World Bank, 1974). The role of education was to develop human resources, which in turn would help to alleviate the above problems. To the Bank this called for an alternative approach to education for rural development.

The Bank (1980) further asserts that, in the foreseeable future, 'it is neither possible to provide education to all those who need it especially in the rural areas nor will equity and equality of opportunities be achieved'. The Bank castigates the credential system which aims at passing into the next level of education and to employment in the modern sector of the economy and

failed to provide terminal prospects for the majority of the population who are unlikely to proceed beyond primary schooling or get employment prospects in the modern sector.

The Bank hence, suggests that 'if education is to contribute to development of the rural areas and traditional sectors of the economy it will have to adapt itself to the needs of these sectors' (1974, p.14). It outlined its proposed model for rural education in the Education Sector, Working Paper (1980, pp. 25-26) as follows:

(i) education is to be functional;

(ii) it should form part of a total education delivery system;

(iii) it should integrate with other rural development activites;

(iv) it should replicate in terms of costs and managerial requirements.

The Bank equally outlned its criteria for rural education:

(i) There should be at least a minimum basic education for all, as fully as soon as available resources permit.

(ii) Further education and training beyond the level should be provided selectively to improve both qualitatively and quantitatively the knowledge and skills necessary for the performance of economic, social and other development roles.

(iii) A national educational system should be viewed as a comprehensive system of learning, emb rassing formal, non-formal and informal education, all working with maximum possible internal and external efficiency.

(iv) In the interest of increased productivity and social equity, educational opportunities should be equalised as fully as possible (6-7).

Assuming these criteria as its guidelines, the Bank outlined the features of the model and policies of education in rural areas. It proposed basic education as an appropriate and relevant approach to education for rural

transformation. It defined Basic Education as:

> attempt to meet the needs of substantial portion of the population who do not have access to even minimum educational opportunities.

The Bank does not however, regard non-formal education as an alternative to formal education, but as a supplement to it. The model of non-formal education proposed by the Bank should provide functional, flexible and low cost education for those whom the formal system cannot yet reach or has already passed by.

It further defines the objectives and content of basic education in terms of 'minimum learning needs' of particular identified groups and not as steps in the educational hierarchy. It also states that the target group, is not necessarily school age population but may vary according to age and socio-economic characteristics. Its delivery system may also vary from one country to another but should be adopted to the needs of different clientele and to constraints upon resources.

In line with the new definition given to 'development', the donor agencies became more interested in investing in rural development projects. The World Bank had at one point argued that (1974):

> More education opportunities in rural areas for instance would promote equity..... education was a pervasive element that must be integrated horizontally and vertically into all development efforts.

Since then the Bank's support for primary and non-formal education has increased progressively from 1973 to 1983.

Reading between the lines of the Education Sector Review in the Sudan (1975), it became very clear that the design and the strategies adopted in the Review's recommendations correspond much to what the World Bank had previously outlined. The arguments presented by both sides in favour of special education for rural areas were expressed similarly. The fact that the

Bank and Unesco readily adopted the Review's recommendations lends support to such a proposition.

The objectives and the long term goals adopted by the Review equally indicate the Bank's strong influence. The Review recommended elimination of illiteracy, improved equality of opportunity, provision of basic and universal primary education to majority of children in and out of school and improved internal efficiency of the education system through training. All these resemble the Bank's lending policy between 1974 to 1978.

Apart from the apparent influence of the World Bank, other aid agencies played crucial roles as well. In particular, Unesco has been very instrumental in drawing the attention of high level politicians and civil servants to the issue. In the 1970s Unesco organised a series of seminars to drive home the idea of education as an instrument for rural transformation in many developing countries; in Cuba in 1977, Kenya 1978, Guinea in 1980, Bangladesh in 1979 and in the Sudan in 1981.

UNESCO and UNICEF publications were also instrumental and particularly 'New Paths to Learning 1973, Attacking Rural Poverty 1974, Learning to Be 1972, and other documents from the World Bank 1974, FAO/UNESCO 1976. These publications and the seminars all too often appear to make non-formal education look attractive and seemingly effective enough to fulfil the dreams of faster rural transformation.

The World Bank, however, (1980) seemed to have changed its stand on this issue. The Bell Report (1978), the attitude of the Bank was described as:

> Our vision of the need to every country ..... is for a flexible comprehensive network of provisions and opportunities .... but sufficiently unitary to avoid shunting any group, such as rural children and youth, girls and young women into dead-end educational channels or inferior learning options.

It is interesting to note this change in the Bank's attitude. It is worthwhile investigating why the Bank has taken a different course, when at one time it had advocated such designs.

In the foregoing discussion an attempt has been made to show the role of the World Bank and other aid agencies in the evolution of IRECs project in the Sudan, and advocating non-formal education as strategies for rural development in the developing countries in general. However, a few points need to be raised in connection with some of the assumptions upon which the Bank based its education for rural development.

It must be pointed out that Sudan is a poor country and it is to a considerable degree dependant on foreign aid from such powerful financial bodies as the World Bank, the IMF and other multinational financial institutions to which Sudan appears relatively powerless. It has to accept a great deal of what the Bank dictates or prescribes for it through the kind of project the Bank wishes to fund. To this end it would appear that the Sudan Education Sector Review conducted between 1975-77, was greatly influenced by the World Bank's representative on the Review Commission, particularly it's design and the nature of the recommendations made which have to fulfill the demands for giving the loan to the Sudan.

One also has to bear in mind that the World Bank, by its very constitution, its values are those of the bankers and bent on return on the capital invested. Not surprising that the conditions of World Bank loan to Sudan meant acceptance of these conditions in favour of the World Bank by the Sudan government. Among the many critiques of the World Bank Sector Working Paper, Williams (1976) points out this case very clearly:

> How is it that the Bank reconciles the precision of its lending intentions with the sovereignity of its recipients? Has the Bank in fact decided in advance what they will want? ... But taking its stand on the line that 'The World Bank stands ready to help those countries which look and do not like all they see', it runs a grave risk of "buying

> conversions to its new thinking. The self-reliant who are making progress, who believe in 'their own approach and want to help in' expanding and improving their existing provision may qualify less readily for help." p.38.

One of the basic assumptions of the World Bank is that, in order for development and change to occur in rural areas, productivity has to be increased. Despite the new definition of 'development' to include an attack on rural poverty, disease and illiteracy; the Bank's model of education for rural development does not include strategies to alleviate these ills in the rural societies. Secondly, the Bank puts too much emphasis on skill development for purely economic reasons. It ignored promotion of social attitudes which is so vital for an all-round socio-economic and political development.

Williams (1976) points out that:

> We don't meet many teachers, pupils or classrooms in this report. There is not a great deal in it about curricula content or method : but a great deal about efficiency, inputs and outputs. ... There is throughout a tendency to regard education primarily as an instrument to provide skills needed by the economy, and to regard efficiency as being synonymous with lower financial outlays per pupil. The principle enunciated at the beginning of the Working Paper that the social dimensions of development are as important as the economic is in fact given little practical expression in the discussion of the content and style of education. p.33.

It is the view of the author of this thesis that changes in traditional attitudes, norms and the values of necessity precedes and facilitates the acquisition of new socio-economic cultures. Clearly, the Banks economic focus, blinds it to any other issues than economic ones.

Finally, the Bank's exposition on the concept of Basic Education is not clearly stated or defined. The Bank at one stage referred to Basic Education as a supplement to formal education serving rural people (terminal) and on

the other, it describes it as a 'first stage of education meeting the Basic Minimum learning needs of the people in the rural areas, the primary cycle being its main vehicle'. Would this not amount to using the wrong delivery system which will only perpetuate the aspirations for further academic education among the parents and pupils? The selection and promotion systems mentioned by the Bank were equally unclear.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Broad statements of aims and objectives of the kinds aimed at by both the World Bank and the Sudanese Government are often ambitiously coined by policy-makers and Aid Agencies. Too often the technocrats have little understanding of the real problems faced by the people in the rural areas about whom they are concerned.

In the Sudan the prevailing economic and social problems such as rural-urban migration, low agricultural productivity, massive illiteracy among the rural population, health and nutritional problems, prompted the policy-makers to outline objectives which are over-ambitious and to accept unworkable models. The objectives, are often punctuated with ambiguity of purpose, reflecting the perceptions of groups with different views of what a project should be or attempt to do. It is not uncommon to read in reports about encounters between National project planners and International personnel, who view particular projects in their own interests.

One also notes the inevitable conflict of co-existence of non-formal and formal education in one system. Given the ingrained parental attitudes in favour of the more academic schooling it is doubtful whether inclusion of practical subjects of rural nature would be acceptable to parents and their children. As the literature surveyed for this study shows, vocationalization either alongside academic general education or in the same school often appear less appealing to parents and their children.

There is also a need on the part of the advocates of the models to clarify some of the objectives. For example, the objective to 'acquaint children with some manual skills', which the World Bank terms as 'skill development', leaves much to be specified. It is not entirely clear which manual skills were to be developed in the case of the Sudanese model. One would only guess that, it is the manual skills prevailing in the particular environment that children would be expected to learn.

Equally, it has not been stated in specific terms for the benefit of the untrained and less able teachers in rural areas, what specific skills and the degrees of precision to be achieved. Much would depend on teachers interpretation and initiative in designing tasks for the children. A task which is not easy for the large majority of teachers who are untrained. However, notwithstanding the quality of teachers in the rural areas, specification of skills to be developed needs to be clearly defined. Otherwise, little can be achieved by the teachers.

Clearly, the emphasis is not on developing the overall potential of the rural child but rather on pupils learning what is in general usefulness in a rural context. This objective is often related to the aim of slowing down rural-urban migration and easing unemployment. Generally this objective has been counter-productive, mainly due to lack of attractive incentives in rural areas to enable school leavers to settle down on the land. Such ambiguity in setting objectives can be an obstacle to successful implementation of non-formal projects.

The next chapter deals with the project definition in its local context.

CHAPTER TWO

INTEGRATED RURAL EDUCATION PROJECT AND ITS LOCAL CONTEXT

1. INTRODUCTION

The 1927-77 National Development Plan stated that:

> The Ministry of education is planning to reorient the whole system of education in the country by introducing more practical subjects in all curricula. It is hoped that this will gradually lead to an integrated type of schooling which will do away with the present dichotomy (Trends in Education, 1975, p. 6.).

The aim of the government was to find an alternative method of education which would stop worsening conditions of unemployment of school leavers and provide an opportunity for large majority of rural people who had not been to school by directing their energies into self-employment thus curb rural-urban migration.

2. SUDAN EDUCATION SECTOR REVIEW 1975-77

The decision to radically change the primary school education by introducing practical subjects, and training of illiterate youths and adults began in 1969 when a National Education Conference called for a review of the structure, function, and content of education in the light of the Sudanese environment. It was clear then that education was not in tune with the social and economic needs of the country. Hitherto education had served different interest groups. First it served colonial interest groups, and later, it switched from a European christian oriented model to an Arab - Islamic one. There was indeed the inevitable crisis of relevance in education, since the content of education, what was being taught and how they were taught were determined by those whose interests were in fostering their own cultural values rather than gearing education to serve national development.

It was however, left to the then president of the country to come up with remedies. In his speech to the second ordinary session of the Peoples' Assembly, he stated that 'education needed to be revolutionized in order to meet the challenges of socio-economic and cultural development' (Trends in Education, 1975). The same month the president issued the decree number 703 launching the 'Education Section Review'. The actual work started on 21st January 1976.

A Steering Committee was set up consisting of a number of concerned ministries and included eminent personalities involved in educational work. A project manager was appointed to be responsible for execution and a general secretariat was formed, headed by an expert from the department of Planning, Statistical and Research Division of the Ministry of Education. Liaison was established with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and Unesco (Report on Education, 1982).

No doubt the president could not have issued such policy guidelines without prior discussion with his aides responsible for education. The involvement of international agencies and eminent persons from within the country, composition of the working parties and the administrative and coordinating machinery further indicates the importance attached to the Review.

In Southern Sudan, the Regional Government resolution Numer 273 of 8th November 1975, contributed in principle to the IRECs concept. The Resolution stated:

> To ruralize education by introducing general gardening, diary and fish farming activities within schools from primary to secondary schools. To make primary schools both functional and terminal.

The outcome of the committees fourteen months' work was published in February 1977 entitled 'Sudanese Education : An Appraisal and Strategy for Action'. Thus the origin of the Integrated Rural Education Centres (IRECs)

Project can be traced to this important document.

The main objectives of the Review were spelt out as being:

(i) to analyse the educational system and related activities, to assess the system's capacity and effectiveness in realising the objectives of general education and development in its economic social and cultural aspects;

ii) to formulate proposals for realistic strategy of educational development through expansion (or Contraction) of training programmes to ensure the needs of overall development;

(iii) to determine priorites for educational investment at the present stage of development. (p. 3.).

Though the reviews findings, conclusions and recommendations were not based on research, it became an important working paper on education in Sudan after 1975. The Review tackled educational, economic and social development issues. It pointed out the deficiencies inherent there-in and suggested ways and means of improving the system. Among its many findings were that the Sudanese educational system was elitist and as such inappropriate and inadequate for national development purposes. That majority of the school age population particularly in rural areas were still left outside the system.

It recommended that:

> Some primary schools will take the form of the Integrated Rural Education Centres. To start with, 40 of these centres will be established and will gradually be increased until they become 160 by 1990, distributed among the rural areas of different provinces with priority ranking for less developed regions which are undergoing quick change as a result of new development projects. (Major Trends in Education, 1975).

A new primary school curriculum was needed which would be 'environmentally oriented and community based; environment curriculum

products would acquire an educational base which would make the children discover concepts and principles by observation, experimentation and problem-solving techniques, hence leading to the development of a general scientific outlook in the students (p. 3.). The school activities too would be organised to relate to the pupils own environment and conditions of life as far as practicable and compatible with the physical and mental development of the children in terms of the facilities and resources available in the location.

In practical terms, the new curriculum would take into account regional variations, urban and rural differences and ethnic culture. Learning and teaching would take place under natural conditions to make children more home oriented. The Review recommended that emphasis should be on primary schools in order to improve the quality of rural life. Hence, 'education should be brought into closer contact with other sectors of the economy such as health, agriculture, industry, community development and cooperative enterprises'.

The schools themselves should become 'centres whereboth formal and non-formal education activities are integrated as a community', and that they should play a key role as centres of changes in the community (UNESCO: ED/OPS/AR13/1979).

A new type of teacher was also envisaged whose traditional role of teaching children would be stretched to include some community development tasks in the rural community. He would be expected to teach adults in modern agricultural skills, community health, adult education and literacy, organise and run cooperative unions, meetings and union shops.

Critical analysis of the review and its recommendations reveals many deficiencies and discrepancies particularly between theory and practice, existing realities in rural areas and expectations among various communities. The new strategy however attractive, was remote from realities. One of the main issues approved by the review was lack of its reference to the rural

environment in which both IRECs and the conventional school systems co-exist. The recommendation must of necessity take into account the socio-cultural, economic and political factors there-in which could influence teacher involvement in community development tasks. These factors need to be put into perspective.

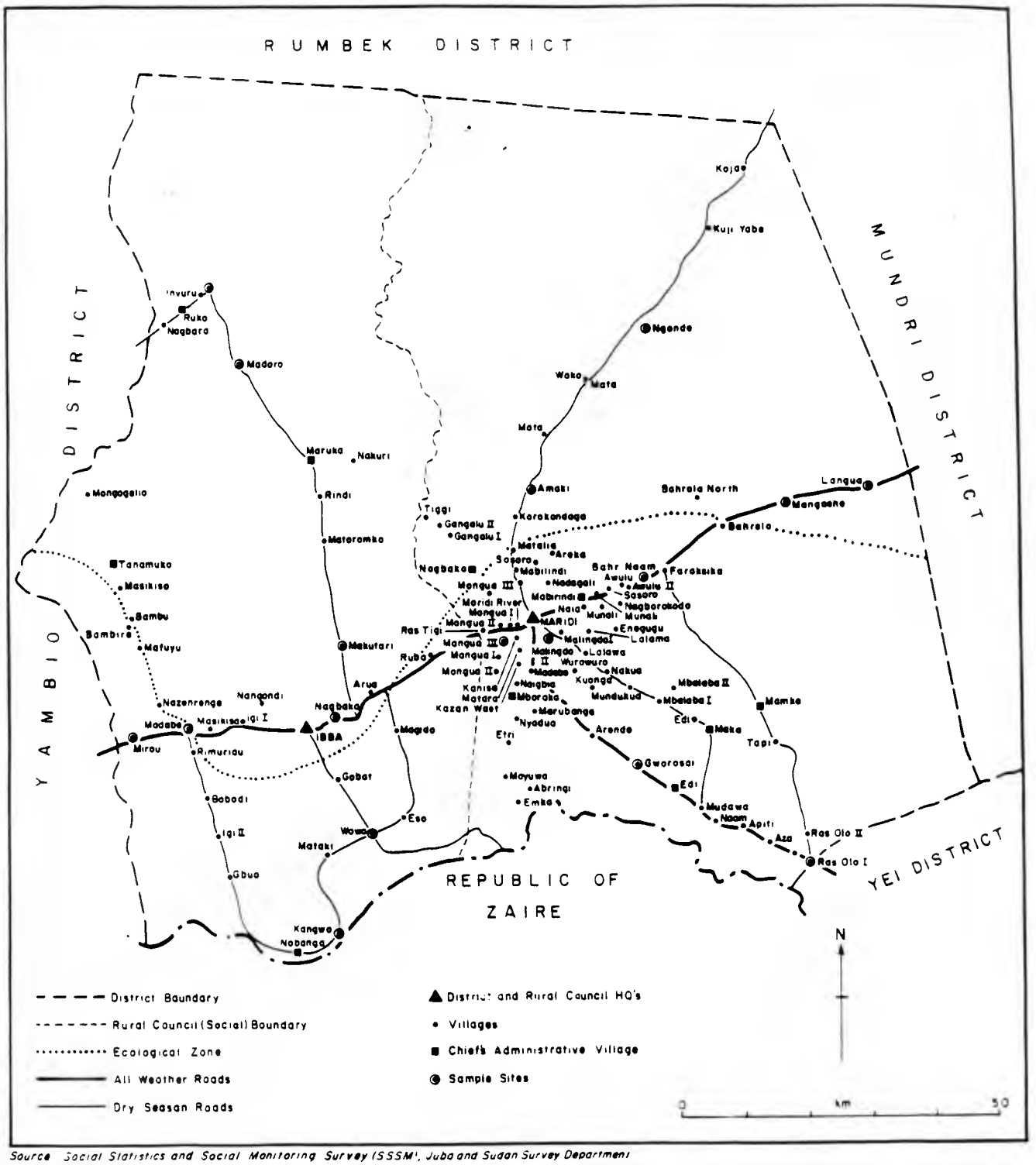
3. MARIDI DISTRICT : BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Maridi district is one of the most prosperous agricultural districts in the southern Sudan. It is also one which suffers a great deal from lack of development. It is located in the Western Equatoria Province (see Map) in a rural location, slightly remote from any large urban centre. Juba, the largest urban centre in the south is 189 miles away and Yambio, the provincial headquarters is 84 miles away. Maridi is linked by loose surface road to both centres.

Maridi town, stands out in great contrast to the rural areas around it. Its buildings are of the European types especially in government officials residential areas (former European quarters). The town has piped water supply though its capacity has been over run by population growth. It has no electricity for the general public but certain aid agencies such as IRECs, the Primary Health Care Unit, ACROSS, have their own electric generators. It has two hospitals, civil and military, departments of Agriculture, Forestry, Health and Social Welfare, Cooperatives, Education, Police, Prisons and the Military.

It was designated as the main educational centre for the southern Sudan in 1954. It has two teacher training colleges, the Primary Teacher Training Institute (PTTI) and Intermediate Teacher Training Institute (ITTI). In addition it has a Curriculum Development Centre, Regional Institute of Languages, (Canadian Aid) and IRECs. It has one secondary and three intermediate schools.

Fig. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS AND ROADS IN THE STUDY AREA



Source Social Statistics and Social Monitoring Survey (SSSM), Juba and Sudan Survey Department

Since 1972, the district has attracted many voluntary and agencies. These include the Germans, concerned with construction and maintenance of roads and bridges. The African Committee for the Rehabilitation of Southern

Sudan (ACROSS) involved in rural technologies, in service training of teachers, provision of seeds and agricultural tools, medical and provision of clear drinking water. There is a Project Development Unit (PDU) a World Bank Agricutural Project engaged in seed promotion, and extension work; a Primary Health Care Programme concerned with community health service. These agencies unfortunately operate independently of each other.

In contrast, the rural parts of the district are sparsely populated. The majority of the people are of the Zande origin (Mondu, Baka) Avokaya and Moru Kodo. The Azande group trace their ancestry to Zaire. These groups are predominantly sedentary cultivators who also hunt and fish.

Geographically the district lies in a plateau of thick equatorial forests and tall grass. The rainfall is one of the highest in the country (65" - 75") per year. The rainy season lasts from March to November. The area supports a wide variety of crops ranging from cash crops such as coffee, cotton and of late maize to fruits and vegetables such as citrus, pineapples, tomatoes, cabbages and a variety of beans. The staple foods are cassava, potatoes and grains. The rural areas supply much of the towns food items.

Villages are scattered and small, consisting of a number of huts often round or square, built with sticks, grass and plastered with mud both inside and outside. The huts are in great contrast to the large stone and brick houses of Maridi town. In the homestead one is bound to find shelters used as sleeping rooms, kitchen, chicken pens and for goats and sheep. Few animals are kept due to the presence of tse tse flies in the district.

Agriculture is the basis of rural economy. There is a clear division of labour between men and women in agricultural matters. The men are responsible for clearing and burning trees, while women sow, weed and do the harvesting. Collective work is the norm. Men and women alike often organised themselves in working parties for cultivation, hunting, fishing for men and sowing, weeding and harvesting for women, while agriculture dominates during the rainy seasons and hunting and fishing during the dry

season, both men and women engage in some craft work such as making mats for sleeping and drying coffee, maize and cassava, baskets, pottery, utensils, bows and arrows.

Hence Maridi township is very different from the surrounding rural countryside. There is the presence of a large number of civil servants including the police and the army. It is the district headquarters and the main economic centre. Most of the people who live in Maridi town come from other parts of the country. Many of them are fairly well-to-do and live in European type houses. Some own cars, have servants and most importantly, live a different sort of life from the rural people including rural primary school teachers.

The life patterns of the 'Sudani group' as they are often known, (Zande, Baka, Mundu) are organised on purely traditional African system. The political structure is simple and defines how each group is governed and kept in continuity. The chief is the most important and influential figure in the rural area. Despite government involvement in administration, the chief is still regarded as the symbol of power and authority in the village.

Social contacts in the district took the form of informal groupings, unplanned ordinary encounters in the market place, the church and the trading centres when local beer shops flourish. Occasionally, the chief might summon his subjects to the court to listen to the chief district administrative officer or on occasions such as census, but such gatherings are rare.

Formal social gatherings or contacts resulting from membership in formal organizations were meagre and sporadic. The majority of the peasants did not belong to any formal organization. As noted earlier most rural areas did not have formal organizations at rural level such as cooperatives unions, farm or agricultural unions and rural councils. Rural people depend entirely on their traditional kinship social institutions as spelt out in chapter VI. In the absence of such formal organizations, the basis for organizing rural people into an active enconomic group is weakened.

Remote parts of the district lack transport connections. Roads, feeder roads and some bridges on many streams had not been repaired since the return of peace in 1972. For supplies people have to walk or cycle to Maridi town. Farm produce are either carried on heads by women and young children or on bicycles. Both remoteness and lack of transport facilities have their effects on agricultural improvement, and productivity. Coffee, cotton, maize and other perishable products suffer particularly from poor service infrastructure due to the great distance from the main truck roads as well as the scattered village settlements of many small producers.

The village peasant cultivators depend entirely on their own family labour. They use simple implements and cannot afford the cost of buying fertilizers, seeds and chemicals. The practice is still traditional which in their circumstances is understandable as they grow food, for subsistence. The high cost which would be incurred by them in terms of time, energy and the walking distance to the town would not be matched by a proportional increase of income. In some cases known to the writer, some peasants have actually reduced their cotton and coffee acreages.

By and large, for the overall majority of the rural people in the district cash income is still very low and consequently modern consumer goods remain largely inaccessible. Traditional attitudes and values continue to assert themselves for survival purposes particularly in areas of disease, food,child care and pregnancy.

For instance, traditional healing practices are widespread in Maridi district. The district has been noted for witchcraft (Evans Pritchard, 1924) and has persisted to date. Healing is the responsibility of herbalists but the spiritual aspects of the problem are often refered to witchdoctors to remove the evil spells (Bandere, A, 1985). Most people in the district use their service specially where health services become ineffective and drugs are in short supply. They are very expensive to consult by rural standards but are presumed to be much more humane and understanding than modern medical

personnel in the district.

Hence many factors relating to the traditional rural societies as described here may well be inhibitory, constraints on teacher's involvement in community development activities. Clearly an understanding of the rural environment in which IRECs was to be implemented is crucial if conflict is to be avoided. In this context, the main deficiency of the review as discernible in the plan is that there are only quantitative breakdowns of the country's problems. It does not contain any detailed elaboration of strategies of action programmes within the framework of National Development Plan of 1975.

There appears to have been no effective institutional forum to link the work of the reviews commission to provincial and local conditions and views. The unrepresentative nature of the commission's membership meant that they were either ignorant of the prevailing realities in the rural areas of certain regions of the country with unique problems were ignored.

The review failed to provide any clue to the administrative and institutional framework to realize these objectives. No critical analysis of rural schools, environments and teachers was undertaken. This confirms the usual government practice where statements rarely go beyond declarations of intentions. For example, in south Sudan, the only organizations at village level is traditional. Few districts have organizations at village levels responsible for health, education, cooperative and community development.

Community involvement in worthwhile activities to improve their lot require the creation of local, district and village development committees. The form these would take will depend on the social and political structure of the community. This important fact was ignored by the review commission.

The viability of the new strategy would depend on whether the rural primary school teachers were capable of translatng policy statements into appropriate actions, If not, the whole strategy would not be realistic.

One would have wanted to see that a feasibility study was done. In view of the unreliability of data generally reported in the Sudan, the commission appeared to have contented itself with the unreliable data available. Yet, data on schools, village catchment areas, teacher training and educational backgrounds are important as the basis for valid judgements and realistic recommendations. The basis being vague, the intentions set by the commission have inevitably a large margin of uncertainty. Hence the course was set for too ambitious targets.

One would expect that important 'terms' and 'clauses' be sufficiently defined. To say that a new primary school curriculum was needed which would be 'environmentally oriented and community based' is to say the least, very ambiguous. What were the concepts and principles to be discovered? how were they to be discovered? Given the educational backgrounds of rural primary school teachers and the resources available to them, one would expect that heavily loaded terms would be sufficiently defined for the benefit of the teachers.

Questions equally arise partaining to curriculum design, decentralization and administration. Environmental or community based curriculum requires above all else, devolution of central controls. But the 1972 Act, section 6 states that:

> Neither the Peoples' Regional Assembly nor the High Executive Council shall legislate or exercise any powers on matters of national nature which among others includes educational planning.

In the Sudan, the National educational aims, objectives, curriculum design and educational planning are centrally controlled by the central government in Khartoum. No effective decentralization has been implemented to give impetus for teacher's and local peoples' participation in education or local education authorities. This point will be pursued further in the

concluding remarks.

4. DEFINITION OF PROJECT: INTEGRATED RURAL EDUCATION CENTRES (IRECs)

In the 'Sudanese Education - An Appraisal and strategy for Action' (1977), the Integrated Rural Education Centres' was described as 'model primary schools whose educational services are extended to the young and whose enlightening and vocational activities are directed to adults and the surrounding community'.

The National Report on Development of Education presented to the Conference of Education in Geneva (July 1979), described IRECs as 'an ideal form of a primary school in a rural setting that stands as a pivot of social activity in all its aspects'. The Report stated IRECs function as:

> The centre, in addition to teaching children participates in literacy teaching, adult education and training in all that is associated with the improvement of rural environment. It provides opportunities for continual education based on a comprehensive programme. The centre will rely on specially trained primary school teachers and government employees from the neighbouring countryside. The Centre will have important functions : first as model institutions whose standard other primary schools will try to reach; second, as centres of adult education and activities of the surrounding countryside, and third, as centre for testing local educational programmes and for training courses and centres which activate rural work.

The specific objectives of the centres are:-

(i) Provide primary school programmes to children of school age in the IRECs catchment area. The programmes will be specifically

geared towards the rural environment and will instil proper attitudes towards manual skills

(ii) Provide a wider range of literacy and training for adults oriented to skill development for rural activities. Where possible, this training will be supported by and geared to, specific development programmes of other ministries and local communities.

(iii) Each IRECs would have a health clinic, to provide preventive care and health education, as well as a store for seed distribution particularly to those who participate in farmer courses.

(iv) Provide specific training for women including literacy for home economics.

Each IRECs would be a full primary school with six classes of fifty pupils each, seven teachers, a health clinic for both the school and the community. The centre would be made as self-sufficient as possible with the ultimate aim of making it the focal point of the community and would become the natural home of meetings. Discussions, demonstrations and other community activities.

The definitions given to the project by various reports indicate a misunderstanding of the concept from the very beginning. Despite the Minister of States' scepticism about widespread implementation of IRECs nationwide, the Tripartite Review and Evaluation Mission (FIT/507/SUD/10 [UNESCO/1982] noted that 'while visualizing the image of IRECs in concrete terms with respect to their expected functions, IRECs as a one primary school concept would be prohibitively costly for any developing country and might even be regarded as being in contradiction to the education policy for the Sudan. Instead of democratizing education, it would introduce two systems of education unequal in quality and whose cost would affect the whole system. "One must also ask, would these differences between IRECs and traditional primary schools not be regarded with suspicion by parents and their children?

Furthermore, the report rightly pointed out that considering the high rate of illiteracy, particularly in the southern Sudan, the lack of school facilities in the region, low cost primary education should be the norm. There are already enormous problems in the southern Sudan with respect to curriculum development, the provision of textbooks, materials and training of adequate numbers of teachers and building of rural primary schools through self-help community approaches (FIT/507/SUD/10, UNESCO, 1982).

All in all, the various definitions and conceptions of IRECs by different groups still have one common assumption - that IRECs is a good thing and therefore if properly implemented will readily appeal to teachers, parents and their children. But Hurst (1981) has noted that acceptance of any project is problematic because new ideas are not accepted and put into practice as a matter of course. Hurst points out that the phenomenon so called 'resistance to change' is global even among populations whose desire for change to liberate themselves from crushing poverty, ignorance or inequity is paramount.

The case is made worse in the Sudan by intense distrust between the north and south, and rural peoples mistrust of governmental plans. However, as Hurst (1981) states, it is one thing to yearn for ameliorating change and quite another to believe that a particular innovation will actually accomplish or contribute to this effect, and yet another to be able to put it into practice.

The extent to which policy-makers and project planners include in their programmes of action, measures to realize project objectives in terms of training and provision of materials and equipment, integration and coordination mechanisms will constitute the measures taken by the project towards the success of project implementation.

5. TEACHER TRAINING

The training programme of IRECs was estimated to last one year. However, it is important to show in this brief description of the project

document, the ambitiousness of the project and the seriousness attached to the training process. It is evident that particular attention was paid to the practical side of the rural education, workshop activities to which many contact hours had been given, as outlined below:

A.	Rural Education and Home Economics.	(370 hours)	
	(i) practical and fieldwork	(160	")
	(ii) Art and Crafts	(50	")
	(iii) Agricultural Extension	(30	")
	(iv) Cooperatives	(30	")
	(v) Home Economics	(160	")
B.	Workshop Programmes	(360	")
	(i) Carpentry	(180	")
	(ii) Tin and Plumbing	(100	")
	(iii) Building	(30	")
	(iv) Electricity	(20	")
C.	Community Development	(138	")
	(i) Different topics on community development	(60	")
	(ii) Research and educational psychology	(60	")
	(iii) Visits to local departments and institutions	(18	")
D.	Other training Areas		
	(i) Library use	(30	")
	(ii) Demonstration lessons	(30	")
	(iii) Audio visual and teaching aids	(30	")
	(iv) Discussion and methods of conducting it	(15	")
	(v) Public lectures by officials of departments involved in community development activities	(40	")

The project's expectations of IRECs teachers were equally ambitious. Teachers were expected to undertake a variety of activities outside their traditional roles. These include the following activities:-

(i) to identify the socio-economic and cultural problems in the community,

(ii) to impart literacy skills to illiterate adults and youths,

(iii) to impart health education,

(iv) to provide lessons on cooperative organizations and civic training,

(v) to engage in community development activities by providing local leadership for various activities, mobilize the community for construction and provision of public facilities,

(vi) organize cultural activities such as sports and festivals. (ED/OPS/ARB/1979).

In respect of what has been outlined in this section, the training was expected to help trainees: (Goals of Teacher Training):

(a) To understand:

(i) The IRECs concept and functions as a rural educational institution catering for the good of the rural community and improvement of its life;

(ii) The IRECs programmes and their objectives.

(b) To acquire the ability:

(i) to identify the socio-economic and cultural problems in the rural community,

(ii) to undertake research, planning, analysis and evaluation and thereby be better able to tackle the problems of rural communities,

(iii) to make contact with different departments and institutions involved in rural development with a view to facilitating the implementation of the IREC programme,

(iv) to improvise and improve teaching aids, using local materials,

(v) to operate and use the available mass media.

(c) to get acquainted with:

(i) the IREC farm, workshop and home economics, tools and equipment,

(ii) how to use and maintain tools and equipment and to preserve materials.

(d) To develop a positive attitude towards manual work and practice it willingly and

(e) to learn to respect the rural communities beliefs, values and customs and thereby gain the villager's trust and cooperation. (ED/82/WS/55 - 1982, Paris).

6. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

One of the objectives of IRECs is to ensure community participation, and integration of the activities of various ministries and agencies involved in some aspects of rural development. To this end IRECs was intended to develop the following structures:- (MCDC/61.A. 1/2).

(i) Demonstration units which will form the bases for learning.

(ii) Farms for actual production and nurseries.

(iii) Laboratories for experiments and research.

(iv) Primary Health Care Units for curative and preventive measures.

(v) Workshops for Vocational training.

A stove.

(vi) Home economics laboratory.

(vii) An appropriate technology unit.

In all the potential of IREC was to be manifold in that it would involve the general mobilization of human and material resources towards integrated and concerted effort activities in the fields of education, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries, health, cooperatives, community development, adult education and research.

The purpose for integrating the activities of all the ministries and

agencies was to avoid duplications of functions and resources. The extent to which these policy statements were translated into actions and how much was done in establishing the institutional framework will be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

7. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF IRECs

A special mechanism of implementation was suggested to administer and manage IRECs project from the top central Ministry of Education, Regional Government, Provincial level to the grassroot level including the roles that would be played by the Unesco, the Federal Government of Germany and the World Bank (CTEDC/61.A. 1/2 - April, 1982).

A number of Committees were to be set up at various administrative hierarchies to manage the implementation of the project. In policy terms IREC is the responsibility of the 'Central Government', supervised by the Department of IRECs in the Central Ministry of Education. At the Regional level, IRECs is to be executed by the Inter-Ministrial Committee, which is responsible for policy and other top level decisions. The composition of the Committee which would include (CTEDC/61.A/1/2, 1982). Ministers of Education as chairperson, Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry (Member), Health and Social Welfare (Member), Cooperatives and Rural Development (Member) and Minister of Decentralization as Member.

An Executive Coordination Committee would be formed with responsibility of execution of the IRECs programmes and other services. It would take orders from the Inter-Ministerial Committee. It will be composed of - Director Generals of Ministries of Education - (Chairperson), Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry (Member), Health and Social Welfare (Member), Cooperatives and Rural Development (Member), Finance (Member) and Commissioners of Provinces.

Third in the hierarchy would be the Maridi Coordination Committee with responsibilities for curriculum development, formulation of training

programmes, research, and pilot execution of the project. This committee would receive orders and instructions from the above two committees: the Inter-Ministerial and Executive Coordination Committees. It would be the largest committee, consisting of 19 members including, 4 members from Maridia Education Complex, representatives of government departments and three village representatives with at least one woman included.

At the grassroot level, there was to be a Local Coordination Committee for the IREC centre. The committee was to be responsible for the day-to-day running of the centre and it would be supervised by the Maridi Coordination Committee. The composition was to include, the Director of IRECs school as chairman, representatives from government and agencies in the rural area and several village representatives.

8. FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

In May 1975, the Government of Sudan concluded the agreement on IRECs with the World Bank for an IDA II project. The terms of the agreement were that the Bank was to lend Sudan government ten million US dollars while the Sudan government would reciprocate with an amount of 8.31 million dollars to be paid in local currency for the erection of 40 rural education centres in the country of which 14 were to be located in the southern region.

Despite the fact that IRECs was listed in the 1975, National Development Plan as a World Bank Project, the funds for execution of Maridi IREC project was donated by the Federal Government of Germany a sum of 560, 000 US dollars as Fund-in-trust. Officially the project was known as the Maridi IREC/FIT Project.

The donation was controlled by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Khartoum and released to the project through the UNDP sub-office in Juba in southern Sudan. At the project site, the three Unesco experts controlled and administered the funds independently of their counterparts. In fact the independence was so complete that the counterparts

did not even know, how much funds there was, spent or left at the end of the project period. This is a point of great concern which will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

The financial arrangement between the World Bank and the Government of the Sudan, is shown in tables 2.1 and 2.2. The tables show that the Regional Ministry of Education was to be responsible for the following inputs: Professional staffs, assigned as the national staff-members of the project for teacher training for the IRECs and for the preparation of educational materials. These would consist of a National Director, three headmasters of pilot primary schools, their deputies, nine senior teachers and thirty three teachers.

In respect to support staff, the following staff were to be seconded by the Regional Ministry of Education to the project : two secretaries, three typists, three clerks, two drivers and two mechanics, one messenger, a storekeeper, three guards and three cleaners. Other provisions include, buildings, offices, equipment, and recurrent costs. It would appear that the Ministry of Education had a considerable part to play in the project. Indeed it is safe to claim that, the extent to which the Ministry of Education fulfilled its obligations to the project, would indicate the government's commitment and support. However, rarely does government policy statement go beyond theoretical proclaimations. Once again the extent to which the government fulfilled its requirements will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

The Unesco budget for the project is attached on page 58. As is clear, the budget covers a range of items, from project personnel, fellowships, equipment, to miscellaneous items.

Unesco support staff would include one driver - mechanic responsible for the Unesco vehicles, their maintenance and procurement of fuel. Two-ton truck and one landrover were to be provided for transportation of fuel and other supplies from Juba to Maridi and for transportation of project staff to IREC sites, Provincial capitals and Juba.

Unesco was to provide a generator to supply power, equipment such as educational audio visuals, office and reproduction equipment, stationery, renovation of houses, offices and storerooms, furniture for houses and offices, fuel and maintenance of equipment. Other costs cover, evaluation of missions, stipend payments for piece-work at Maridi by external collaborators from the Ministry of Education and other institutions. Fellowships for three senior national professional staff members, one in the subject area of each expert. Provision was made in the Unesco budget for miscellaneous costs for kerosene, diesel, gas and oil for vehicles and generator, petty-cash and costs of reporting.

The main issue here is how well the financial arrangement worked to the benefit of the project. It would appear that the Maridi IRECs project had two separate budgets. The Sudan Government budget is attached on page 60. There was no official central body which coordinated the financial arrangements. It was claimed by the local personnel that the Unesco specialists guarded whatever was under their control or supplied as Unesco contribution jealously. Indeed the relationship between the experts and their national counterparts was one of subordination rather than partners or equals.

In a nutshell, the Unesco contribution was by far the greater. The Sudan government's contribution, was greatly weakened by lack of initial budget for IRECs, rigid financial administration and poor communication systems which led to delays in the procurement and transportation of materials and equipment to the project. The effect of these administrative and financial arrangements on implementation of IRECs project will be dealt with under the implementation of the project.

TABLE 2.1

Project Budget Covering F.R. Germany Funds-in-Trust Contribution
(in US Dollars)

Country: SUDAN

Project No.: FIT/507/SUD/10 (Revision I)

Project Title: Integrated Rural Education Centres, Maridi

		Total		1978		1979		1980		1981	
		m/m	$	m/m	$	m/m	$	m/m	$	m/m	$
10.	PROJECT PERSONNEL										
11.	Experts										
11.01	Basic/Primary Educ.	24.0	142,871			3.0	16,200	12.0	69,984	9.0	56,687
11.02	Non-Formal Educ.	24.0	142,871			3.0	16,200	12.0	69,984	9.0	56,687
11.03	Women's Educ.	24.0	132,704	2.5	12,500	12.0	64,800	9.5	55,404		
11.41	Consultants	3.0	17,496					3.0	17,496		
11.99	Sub-total	75.0	435,942	2.5	12,500	18.0	97,200	36.5	212,868	18.0	113,374
13.	Support Personnel		7,200			3.0	900	12.0	3,600	9.0	2,700
15.	Travel Costs		15,000		500		3,600		7,300		3,600
16.	Other Costs		32,000						17,000		15,000
19.	Component total		490,142		13,000		101,700		240,768		134,674
39.	FELLOWSHIPS		40,000				10,000		30,000		
49.	EQUIPMENT		206,000				191,000		15,000		
59.	MISCELLANEOUS		57,000				19,000		19,000		19,000
90.	PROJECT TOTAL		793,142		13,000		321,700		304,768		153,674

Two evaluation missions have been reported. The first : Tripartite Review Mission on the Pilot Project (5 - 19 March, 1980) contained many contradictory comments and observations, the second : The Tripartite Review and Evaluation Mission (12 - 25 May, 1982 - FIT/507/SUD/10, Unesco). The first mission dwelt more on the specifics of IRECs in the manner of school inspectors which did not help to remove fundamental problems and failed to identify problem areas with those concerned and to understand clearly the conceptual base of the project so that it could develop a solid foundation (Unesco : FIT/507/SUD/10, 1982).

It was also clear that no mid-term review and evaluation took place, which could have been more constructive if it would suggest appropriate conceptual framework and administrative strategies. The 1982 Review Mission though more diagnostic, analytical and suggested solution, it came too late to be of any practical use. It was at the expiration of IREC (31st May, 1982) that the evaluation Mission (12 - 25 May, 1982) came to evaluate the essence and work of the project. In its report (FIT/507/SUD/10, 1982) findings it strongly recommended urgently its extension into a second phase to last from 1982 to 1987.

What was more baffling was that a reaction to the Mission Report was long awaited by the concerned authorities. Clearly, it is upon such a reaction and formal request that the donors would consider any resumption or extension of their aid. From some circles, it appeared that no proper proposal beyond mere letter writing has been made. Besides it would require genuine follow-up by concerned agencies through proper channels for a meaningful outcome to be effected. In 1985, the researcher was contacted by the British Council in southern Sudan to discuss IRECs and later to meet a Swedish lady in London on her way to Maridi in Sudan. The consultation never materialized and I doubt whether the lady ever got to southern Sudan. Obviously the civil war, the drought and the famine all made their effects on the possible

TABLE 2.2

Project Budget Covering Government Contribution
(in Sudanese Pounds)

Country: SUDAN

Project No.: FIT/507/SUD/10 (Revision I)

Project Title: Integrated Rural Education Centres, Maridi

	Total £	1978 £	1979 £	1980 £	1981 £
Professional Staff	245,430		64,375	80,469	100,586
Support Staff	43,500		11,410	14,262	17,828
Buildings	130,000		50,000	40,000	40,000
Equipment	15,000		3,000	8,000	4,000
Recurrent Costs	26,640		8,370	8,640	9,630
PROJECT TOTAL	460,570		137,155	151,371	172,044

execution and continuation of IREC project at Maridi. The issue of civil war will be discussed fully in the concluding chapter along with other factors.

In view of the foregoing discussion a number of proposition are outlined in Chapter III under problem conceptualization. These propositions or claims will form the basis for further investigations in the subsequent chapters using data from the field. Chapter III investigates the concept of extended teacher role, states the research problem and discusses some of the basic assumptions on which the concept has been based.

CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEM CONCEPTUALIZATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of 'extended teacher role' is internationally controversial This chapter analyses the nature of the problem. It indicates and discusses some of the basic assumptions on which the concept has been based.

2. THE PROBLEM

The initial conception of the research problem can be traced to two propositions which emerged as a result of international debate, centred on how teachers in the rural areas of the developing countries could best be used to bring about rural transformation.

> In this regard, the two views clash. The first expressed by 'Optimists' that rural primary school teachers assume leading roles in rural development directly, by extending their traditional roles to include some community development tasks such as community health, adult education and literacy, organising and running cooperative unions and asumming overall leadership in the community.
>
> The second view expressed by the 'pessimists' reject such an extension of the teachers' traditional functions of transmitting knowledge, skills, values and attitudes for various reasons.

In the context of the former, the IREC project stressed the utilization of rural primary school teachers as community development agents.

The project documents presented the rural primary school teacher as a teacher in the classroom, a community developer, an agricultural extensionist, a health worker and a host of other things. He was an all purpose individual who was expected to play several roles simultaneous possibly with equal success and effectiveness.

The central problem here is that, the rural primary school teachers, is

being asked to extend his teaching skills, knowledge and competence into areas which traditionally does not fall within his role definition. Therefore he is being asked to master new sets of skills, acquire new body of knowledge and develop new competence to cope with these array of duties. In practical terms there are certain problems which would influence teachers' as multi-purpose agents. It is these problems that this study seeks to investigate particularly some of the assumptions on which the concept has been based.

3. ASSUMPTIONS BEHIND THE PROJECT

Reading between the lines of the project documents on IREC, the following assumptions were apparent. The important point in this analysis is to show the discrepancy between project expectations of the rural primary school teacher and the realities prevailing in rural environment.

(a) LOCAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM:

That the nature of the local culture and the social system would accommodate IREC project.

Havelock (1977) has noted in his analysis of barriers to educational innovations that inadequate planning, failure to take account of the nature of the social systems into which the innovation was being introduced could undermine the success of the innovation. Efforts to initiate change were often seen as threats to the existing customs, habits, values and institutions of the particular groups of people. The result had been resistance to these efforts to change due to lack of understanding of traditional social and cultural systems by the innovators.

For instance, in the traditional political economy, the masses belong to the traditional social system where conducive climate for participation by the people is well grounded. The key for free participation in traditional social system lies in the method of decision-making. Decisions are not reached by majority votes or one man one vote system but by concensus:

> In the context of a rural village, where it is not possible to have rules or regulations enforced regarding every detailed item, a system of consensus had been developed in ancient times, which still persist in certain areas. It means whatever a decision is reached, it has to be made by consensus. This implies that dissenters have to agree. It is not a question of their subjugation but their being convinced of the rationality of the decision. In a certain sense this appears highly democratic as in the case of a dissent the discussion continues till everyone agrees on a particular course of action.
> Karunaratae 1979, p. 64.

But in the vast majority of cases in developing countries rural development projects are still centrally planned and of necessity decisions and controls of resources have to be at high levels. This top-down approach has not provided the participatory framework through which members of the rural community could develop a sense of belonging and identification with the project. Nor has it accorded the members with certain amount of responsibilities to make decisions. MacDonald (1977) argues that motivation for change must come from within, which is in contrast to centrally planned change initiatives and strategies. The inherent assumption to ignore local culture and social systems in rural development planning stage is that the planners know what is good for the rural people. Community commitment and support for the innovation is often taken for granted. Consequently little success has been achieved with such programmes because of resistance from the clientele.

It is therefore necessary that community development programmes fit into existing social systems which would evoke voluntary participation of the rural masses.

(b) TEACHER AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION:

> That teacher and Community participation are taken for granted.

The main point here is what definition should be given to teacher and community particpation in community development tasks as proposed by the IREC project. In this study 'involvement' or 'participation' have been used synonymously to mean 'extended teacher's role and community's' active support and engagement in project activities. But how were they to be involved in community activities? What were they to involve in? Rondinelli (1983) suggests that:

> development occurs more efficaciously when the people involved in the development process either as agents or clients are given pride of place in decision-making and defining and meeting their own needs rather than ignoring them and imposing programmes on them by politicians or high authorities in the government.

President (Former) Julius Nyerere of Tanzania expressed a similar view when he emphatically stated that (1971):

> If development is to benefit the people, the people must participate in considering planning and implementing their development plans. Any action that gives the people more control of their own affairs is an action for development.

In this regard teacher and community involvement would mean engagement in decision-making, planning and teachers influencing members of the community. The central point in respect to teachers would be 'power', the ability to influence both decisions and to exercise control over resources and members. Another dimension of this argument includes, status, privilege and prestige teachers have in the local community. In essence, teacher involvement as agents of change, would mean increasing teachers control over social structures, forces within and outside the community and over factors of development in rural environment.

Another aspect of this argument is one in which teachers and members of the community might be told that they are being involved in the matters of the project. But in reality, decisions have already been taken and both teachers and community members are merely being used to execute a decision they are not a part of, nor have they been consulted. It could equally mean consultation with other members involved in the project and then adopting the popular opinion of the majority as a basis for decision making.

The two methods of participation differ a great deal. The directive approach most common with centrally planned programmes is often enforced by legal binding and execution of penal provisions on those who did not attend to the required tasks, be they incapable or unqualified to accomplish the task in question. The other, participatory approach, is where the people are partners in development and master their own resources, supplement it with resources provided by the government or aid agencies and proceed relatively on their own with little interference from the outside. IREC clearly belongs to the former, where teachers received directions and follow project plans, designed in the centre without any deviations for fear of punishment or punitive actions against them by the authorities.

Likewise, the top-down approach did not provide an adequate climate for community participation. As has been noted elsewhere in the thesis the community members were not given some of the project responsibilities to shoulder, nor were they invovled in planning, and decision making. Consequently, community members did not regard themselves as part of the project and essentially remained passive participants. Generally community members appear resistant to such development efforts.

(c) PARENTAL RESISTANCE AND PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS ROLE:

(i) That community members would accept extension of teachers' role, and introduction of practical subjects in primary schools without resistance.

Generally, in developing countries, mass school education in the early twentieth century usually began by creating aspirations in parents and their children for better jobs, better standards of living and higher social status which could be achieved thorugh the means of an academically oriented education (Dove, 1980).

The ingrained attitude and resentment to practical subjects among parents and their children is widespread and not a recent phenomenon either. In 1935 it was reported that there was a general decrease in the number of pupils attending technical and trade schools in south Sudan (Sudan Government, 1935). The report stated that 36 boys joined the trade school as compared with 100 in the previous (1936) year. This was claimed to be the result of a policy adopted by the colonial administration to educate boys for rural life by introducing carpentry, bricklaying, masonry and other vocations in schools.

Retrospectively, both parents and their children rejected such jobs because these jobs did not compare adequately with what Europeans offered to themselves. Nor did they command salaries equal to those commanded by graduates from academic intermediate schools. The employment and salary structure favoured the academic schools and hence discouraged the promotion of technical and trade schools in many developing countries in the early years. The schools and what they offered were generally viewed as of low status and carried less prestige.

Furthermore, some parents saw it as a political expediency designed to keep their children out of the modern economic sector with better paid jobs. This attitude appears not to have been relinguised after independence if anything it has been strengthened. For one reason, in the post independence era, there emerged national bourgeosies who replaced the Europeans, hence maintaining the status quo.

Dove (1980) pointed out that vocational schools the world over have nearly always had difficulties in recruitments due to the communities rejection of the low status occupations and unattractive style of life which they considered such training led. It would therefore appear that the great value parents have placed on academic subjects and the status of the occupations and white collar jobs to which academic subjects lead has long proved to be one of the main reasons for rejection of an educational curriculum which advocates introduction and implementation of vocational and practical subjects in the schools.

The general impression is that technical, vocational and practical subjects are associated with the inferiority of low status, low pay, working with ones hands, getting dirty, receiving and obeying orders. Also as our later findings will show, it is for those who did not go to school and those who did not make it to the secondary schools or university.

In the more traditional societies where economic developments have not made their impact, such jobs are far from integrated into the traditional metality of perceiving a livelihood for educated people. It is precisely this attitude which is still prevailing in the remote rural areas, which has long since determined the type of education parents want for their children. In this context, it is doubtful whether parents will accept extension of teachers role beyond the classroom and introduction of vocational subjects in primary schools.

However, recent studies in Kenya (Lauglo, 1986) and Zambia (Hoppers, 1982) appear to show that, where prospects for jobs through formal education are very bleak, particularly in areas where economic development has progressed, there is interest in practical skills among parents of primary schools and even at secondary school level. In south Sudan, the picture is different. There are still prospects through educaton open to southern children in the industrial centres of Khartoum. But when such job

opportunities diminish one would expect that parents would as a last resort develop interest in practical skills for their children to fall back on.

Coleclough (1976) noted that the local people resisted pressures for changing the educational system in a way which would not continue to serve their purposes. Forster (1974) similarly argued that rural people had resisted attempts to provide special rural or agricultural curricula in schools and that no amount of juggling with the curriculum of the school was likely to alter the legitimate aspirations of the rural children and that of their parents. Parents on the other hand had been reported to exert pressure on schools authorities to prevent subjects which were not examined at the end of the year examinations from being taught.

A classical example of parental resistance to education for rural development has been reported by Grabe (1975) in Upper Volta. That parents of rural youths and youths themselves, clearly saw what was happening and regarded the rural education centres, at best, as a temporary expedient that should be replaced by the real thing, the primary school, and at worst, a symbol of discrimination against the rural people. In fact, parents continued to hope the Rural Education Centre would be converted to regular primary school and tried to send their children to Rural Education Centre. But when after a three year cycle, the Rural Education Centre was not converted into a primary school, the villager's hopes were shattered and new Rural Education Centre recruitment efforts faced increasing resistance from the villagers.

Grabe concluded his report by saying that it was precisely because the aims of planners and educational authorities, in wanting to innovate within the context of the existing school system, had been different from the aims of the parents and their children in furthering their long term social and economic aims. He emphatically argued that rural education programmes could not be effective as long as it stood as a symbol of discrimination and failed to get the acceptance of the rural people (1975).

Clearly, much will tend to depend on how community members perceive the role of the teachers to be. In the rural areas, teachers are regarded as sources of knowledge and skills which would open up opportunities for the community's children to enter into the modern society, meeting the community's future economic and material demands through educating their young. In this respect teachers's role would be seen much more in relation to the performance of children in their final examinations and continuing their education beyond the local village primary school.

In this context a distinction has to be made between the expected roles of teachers in the more remote rural areas and the role of teachers in areas undergoing transformation. In the more remote rural areas the modern teacher would be more an alien and therefore play an insignificant role as a leader. But in the more advanced rural areas, the teacher would be expected to be involved in community activities. But as Bude (1982) pointed out, the definition of such tasks where teachers would be involved, remained to be defined by the community, not by teachers or projects and this essentially depends on how the community perceives the role of the teacher to be.

4. SELECTION AND SOCIALIZATION OF TEACHERS:

A number of claims are made in this section regarding teachers' motivation, education, morale, satisfaction, school resource materials, teacher status and prestige, and the effects of teacher biographical factors on teacher involvement in community development tasks.

(i) Motivation:-

> That teachers in rural primary schools were sufficiently motivated to accept the extension of their traditional roles to include some community development tasks.

A number of studies in developing countries show that in most cases teachers in rural areas are dissatisfied. Bude (1982) provides an insight to

this matter from a school inspection report in Cameroon and quote:

> In the past when there were fewer literate people around the country, the teacher held an honourable position in society as an academic priest. He was consulted even on matters which he was ignorant of. The leadership of a primary school was also a post of esteem and dignity. But today, the country is producing a large number of well educated people every year and the headship of a primary school has become nothing. The dwarfing of teachers' status in society certainly affects his self image and consequently his morale and attitude towards his work. p.9.

Other scholars such as Watson, K. (1982), Dove (1981), Thompson and Greenland (1983) argue that the constraints on the rural primary school teachers are numerous and not confined only to the problems of finance but relate more widely to include inadequate education and training of teachers and existing limits in administrative capacity of the rural primary schools. Teachers they observed, have usually inadequate facilities and teaching materials; and there are other problems pertaining to teachers's conditions of service in the rural environment.

Another point often mentioned in relation to teachers and special programmes is that too often teachers are taken for granted. Their views are not often sought on major educational issues. Consulatation is kept at high levels. Havelock (1977) citing Armsey's study of Samoa's (1973). Case reported that teachers are often ignored when key decisions are made. Thus, 'they become at best ancillary elements and at worst unwilling and negative participants'.

Research evidence from developing countries show that (Bude, 1982) teachers are found to be reluctantly teaching in the rural areas particularly the young and female teachers. It has already been pointed out elsewhere in this chaper that rural primary school teachers serve under appalling conditions such as poor housing, low pay and inadequate resource materials

in the schools.

Dove (1981) has also shown that four broad categories of factors influence teachers' attitutdes to teaching in rural schools These are personal and family, social, economic and professional. She pointed out that many teachers are reared in towns or are educated and trained in them. They may therefore find living in rural areas difficult and be ill-equipped to do so. In most rural areas amenities which teachers are used to may be difficult to find. In addition, teachers want their own children to have good education. But rarely do we find good schools located in rural areas.

Social and professional isolations are often mentioned as penalties for teachers in rural schools. Long distances from families, friends and entertainment centres such as clubs and other leisure time activities which are part and parcel of the urban life-style. They too are removed from professional associations such as teachers unions. Dove (1982) also points to the effects of isolation on the quality and quantity of professional facilities available to teachers in rural areas.

According to Dove, until more evidence from research emerges, we have no means of determining which factors are crucial in determining teachers' willingness to serve in rural schools. But if teachers work under difficult conditions, or isolated and make do with inadequate resources, the reasons to believe that they may be dissatisfied may be great. Motivation is therefore an important factor in encouraging teachers to do extra work both within and outside the school.

(ii) General Education and Training

> That teachers in rural primary schools were educationally sound, well trained in pedagogy and therefore could be reoriented quickly through a series of short in-service courses.

Teacher education and training is discussed in chapter v. There is a tendency among planners to discuss teachers in general terms without the

context of grade distinction in terms of educational background, salary scales and education institution levels in which they teach. Rural primary school teachers in the developing countries, south Sudan included, belong to a distinct class category within the teaching hierarchy. They can be distinctively classified on the basis of their educational attainment and background.

Hawes (1978) has pointed out that in most cases these teachers have a few years of general education behind them and if they are young, they are left overs who did not make it to the university. The schools in which they teach, are not the best either, often the buildings are of the simplest construction with mud and grass.

Available literature (Dove, 1979) seems to suggest that most talented persons opt for better and lucrative jobs, which offer better career opportunities, conditions of service and material benefits. In the south Sudan those (Garvey-Williams, 1976, Ngalamu, 1979) who joined teaching were secondary school failures who did not make it to the university. The outstanding feature of teachers in rural areas in Africa is that the great majority of them have not received more than a primary education and are in most cases untrained in the art of pedagogy (Griffiths, 1976).

Thompson and Greenland (1985) pointed out that rural primary school teachers are poorly qualified to be capable of acting professionally. They argued that 'we should rather be more concerned with finding patterns and modes of teacher's role which encourage staff to learn through analysis and research of their own experience and prepare them for a greater degree of autonomy in their day-to-day work'.

Hawes (1978) writing specifically about teacher in rural primary schools asserted that 'teachers for the most part, are under educated and under trained. Beeby (1966) has discussed teacher quality in terms of their educational background and teaching competencies in great details in his book' The quality of education in developing countries.

Experience, elsewhere has also shown that lack of adequate training of teachers and poor educational backgrounds of teachers (Thompson and Greenland, 1983) are important factors which affect teacher performance in special educational programmes. In Cameroon for example, where the IPAR project came to the end and the experts left, the taechers reverted to the traditional ways of doing things which they were more familiar with and abandoned the modern techniques they were trained in. If teachers had been trained in one way and then they were expected to teach in another after a short orientation course, it is doubtful whether they would produce the required results.

(iii) School Resource Materials:

> That rural primary schools were sufficiently well equipped with school resource materials or could be purchased to make teachers' work easy in the community.

As has been noted, rural primary schools often have poor resource materials. The alternative, that resource materials could be purchased, has often proved difficult due to lack of funds available to rural schools. The World Bank Educational Sector Policy Paper (1984) asserted that next to teachers, textbooks remain the most costly item required for a minimum standard of education and they are in critical short supply in the primary schools of the poorer developing countries, south Sudan inclusive. The Bank further added that 'similarly, shortage of appropriate reading materials for neo-literate is the most serious obstacle faced by literacy programmes in developing countries (Unesco Occasional Papers, Series No. 4, 1984).

Once again Hawes (1976) has this to say:

> Quite often where the teaching of vocational or pre-vocational skills is attempted lack of equipment may reduce it to a mockery. I have seen boys digging with sticks because they could not afford hoes, girls sewing small squares of cloth because they could not afford the materials to

> make clothes in their needlework lessons. Tools and seeds and fertilizers, cloth and thread and sewing machines, pots and pans and paraffin, all cost money, far more money than chalk and exercise book.
> p. 20.

The governments of developing countries often experiencing financial constraints, could not afford to put more money into primary schools to improve the quality and quantity of material resources in rural primary schools.

(iv) Teacher's Status and Prestige

> That teachers in rural primary schools were highly respected and influential members of their respective communities.

But Dove (1981) has claimed that 'Gone are the days for the most part when the teacher was a member often a leading member of the local community'. Today there is a widespread claim that teachers, particularly primary school ones have lost their status and prestige in the community. Many reasons have been put forward to explain the diminishing status of primary school teachers in rural and urban areas.

Dove (1982) has pointed out that:

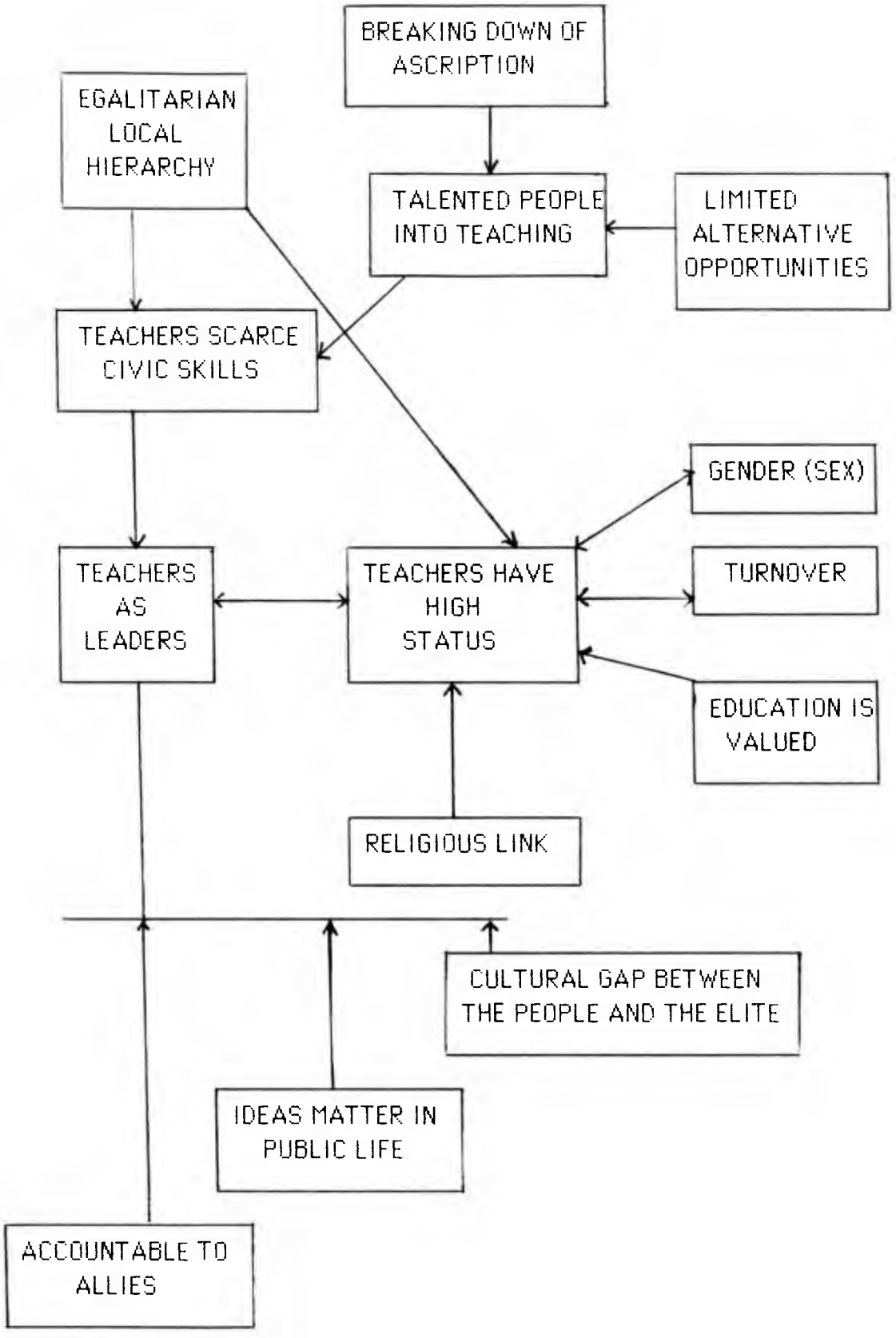
> generally teacher's status have progressively declined in the urban and rural areas as more people become educated and when compared with other professionals of the same level of education.

Lauglo (1982) stressed the same point when he argued that, in the past, teachers in some countries were among the few educated people, closely associated with either the local social power hierarchy or with the local religious foundations which could raise them to positions of leadership. But he also argued that such factors as growing numbers of educated people in the rural areas, failure of the education system to attract and sustain talented

and ambitious persons have undermined the social position of teachers in the community.

The model in figure 1, inspired by Lauglo's (1983) article shows in theory the many factors which enhance or reduce status and prestige in terms of teachers' standing in their respective communities. Clearly status has many sources and is influenced by many other factors within and outside teachers' environment. Still others could be more direct in their effects upon the teachers.

Figure 1.



Reference to dimishing status of rural primary school teachers due to various factors has been made, (Dove, 1982, Lauglo, 1982, Bude, 1983).

However, it would appear that the social economic and political climates which existed in the past and which had favoured teachers community leadership, have been eroded by changes in the social, economic, political and cultural structures which have correspondingly affected teachers special positions in the local community in terms of their status, respect and prestige. If influence is a factor of status, prestige and respect, then teachers are bound to be less influential than expected.

5. TEACHER'S SOCIAL BIOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES:

Although teacher's biographical factors such as age, sex, ethnic origin and other social factors were neither included in IREC project proposals nor considered in the selection of project teachers, this study believes that:

> teachers biographical variables mentioned above would influence rural primary school teachers' performance in community development tasks.

Research related to selection of teachers for community development is scarce. But Bude's research in Cameroon does provide some very important insights on the importance of biographical variables in this area. However, Bude's findings need to be verfied not only under southern Sudanese conditions but others as well.

Bude's (1982) study of Cameroon teachers is important in identifying the types of teachers who would have the potential if selected and trained for rural development programmes such as IRECs. For instance, Bude's analysis of teacher's profile, age, sex and social origin show that women teachers are often deployed in towns or in well served rural areas. The poorer the infrastructure, the less well female teachers will be represented.

On the other hand, female teachers may represent the majority in schools in the larger urban areas. They are according to Bude, in most cases the wives of civil servants or teachers who are very influential and hold high

posts in the government. The frequent female absence in schools and lack of professional interests among them exacerbate the problems of urban schools while their absence in rural schools leaves school girls often unattended to.

Bude also found that, the young, inexperienced and often unmarried teachers wish to avoid posting in rural areas; and they have the tendency to leave early before making any impressions on the local people. Although men appear to be more homeward bound than women, Bude notes that, it is the old, experienced and married teachers who often opt to be posted as teachers in their own villages.

Social origin of teachers in developing countries may equally appear relevant factor to consider when selecting teachers for rural development programmes. More important, however, is the fact that identification among Africans is still based on ethnic origin, cultural values and sameness of language.

Young teachers would appear less suited to be trained for special work in the community. The experience gained in Cameroon with the training of teachers- animators for reformed primary schools shows that young teachers prepared for this task are in fact more interested in higher salaries, and status than assignment to rural communities.

Finally, Bude suggests that if a decision is to be made in favour of the teacher-animator, recourse should be had to teachers with long years of experience, teachers who have established roots in their communities and for whom such special training would offer a possibility of professional and financial advancement, who are less inclined to leave their profession after further specialization training.

The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that, old and experienced teachers, residing in their own villages among their own people, would appear more suited for community development work than young and female teachers.

6. UNREALISTIC DEFINITION OF TEACHER'S ROLE

That community development issues could be adequately dealt with by the rural primary school teachers.

The Unesco report (1970) of the International Education Year says:

> Rural transformation refers to a comprehensive and interrelated set of changes that include not only increase in productivity and output of agriculture and livestock, but also the emergence of differentiated economic activities, such as food processing, storage and marketing, the provision of agricultural credit, the reform of land tenure, the organizing of cooperatives, village and community development programmes to improve water supply, roads and sanitation, services for supply of fertilizers, seeds and insecticides, distribution and repair services for farm implements and many other changes that mark the shift away from subsistence agriculture.
> (UNESCO, 1970, p. 355).

If this be the meaning given to community development, then much of what is expected of the teacher is clearly beyond his capacity as a teacher. It would be unrealistic to blame teachers for matters outside their control as outlined in the preceeding definition of rural transformation. Education and therefore teachers do not create jobs nor in isolation improve conditions of living. But what education and teachers can do is to provide individuals with capacities to acquire jobs, widen their awareness about their environment and the possibilities for jobs that exist, instil the attitudes, skills and knowledge for self-improvement.

Likewise teachers exercise no control over such development components as wage differentials, employment, location of industries, establishing markets, controlling agricultural prices, provisions of infrastructure, roads and social services in rural areas.

In all five broad factors are believed to determine the activities of rural primary school teachers in the community: (a) Community or school environment; (b) Community perception of teachers' role; (c) Teachers' perception of their role under rural conditions; (d) Teachers' satisfaction with conditions of services and with school resource materials; (e) Teachers' social attributes and professional qualifications on teachers involvement in community development activities.

Arising from the foregoing discussions of the research problem, assumptions, the definitions given to rural development, teacher participation/involvement and the review of related literature, a number of claims can be made about teacher involvement in community development activities which need to be verified by data from the field. The claims are set out in terms of propositions.

7. PROPOSITIONS

It is claimed here that if rural primary school teachers are to be effective change agents, the following and many other factors will influence their activities in the rural community.

(a) Much of what rural teachers are expected to do in assisting the rural members to improve their lot will depend among other things on:-

(i) Teacher's educational background and how much their general education had exposed them to aspects of rural development such as scientific foundations of agriculture, health and nutrition.

(ii) Teacher orientaton during training and the kind and type of training provided, whether practical or theoretical, in the classroom or outside in the field.

(iii) The availability of material and equipment in the schools and the extent of teachers control over them.

(iv) Teacher satisfaction with the occupation, in terms of its incentive systems, promotion, and general conditions of service.

(v) The educational policy and administration of schools in terms of transfer policies, teaching load, extra-curricula tasks, training and general level of experience of teachers.

(b) Teachers characteristics such as age, sex, martial status, ethnicity and language. These factors are believed to influence teachers' ability to influence and identify with the members of the rural community.

(c) Level of socio-economic development in rural areas, in terms of provisions of social services, transport and health facilities, markets, agricultural credit facilities, a certain level of administrative structure are basic pre-requisites in stimulating rural development and they must precede teacher involvement.

(d) Political and Administrative support:

Top level support for rural development should be a priority. A strong commitment to rural development at the National level is required if the impact on the problems of poverty is to be effective and if teachers are to be effective change agents.

(e) Rural Environment conditions:

This is the existing poverty in the rural areas which make rural areas unattractive and in which rural teachers serve. These environmental constraints must be minimized to retain teachers and attract them to work in these areas.

(f) Teachers' Perception of their role:

It is claimed that teachers who perceive their role in wide terms would be found to participate more in community development activities than those who define their role as confined to the school and classroom teaching.

(g) Community-Perception of teachers role:

That community members would perceive teachers role as that of

teaching the young and helping them to pass their promotion examinations and not involvement in community development tasks.

The main attempt in this study is to investigate whether there is some congruence between views expressed by teachers and the members of the community on one hand and what teachers should do and what they are actually doing on the other. The views and the factors which influence teachers activities in the community will be discussed in the subsequent chapters using data from the field.

8. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study seeks to enhance understanding about the extension of teachers' role into community development. The study, it is hoped will bring to the fore some of the critical factors in the teaching environment in rural areas which militate against teacher's ability to act as change agents. So far, limited research has been done in this field in the developing countries. The one exception is by Bude (1982) and Bergmann and Bude (1976) both centred in one country, Cameroon.

Further, there is grave scarcity of literature and research based on the little known south Sudan. Because of its remoteness, isolation and backwardness, researchers and scholars efforts were largely centred in the more developed northern part of the country where communication is better developed, available data sources such as archives and where data collection would be cheapter and easily accessible.

Lastly, the thesis will make its contribution to the current international debate on how teachers in the rural areas of the developing countries could best be used to bring about rural transformation. Its findings will shed light on some of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the policy and will raise some issues pertaining to teachers and rural development which will be of importance to planners of rural development in developing countries.

It is therefore not surprising, in view of the objectives and intentions that the Minister of Education, in his opening speech in the 'Seminar on Integrated Rural Education' sponsored by UNESCO (30th October to 2nd November, 1978) declared categorically that 'there is no intention that Integrated Rural Education Centres will at any time, replace the traditional primary schools'. Then, what was the purpose of IRECs, considered by many as a model primary school on which so much money has been spent? One would only conclude that there appears to be some unease with the model among the planners themselves, perhaps because it was a model heavily influenced by the idea of donor agencies. The next chapter deals with the methodology of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the various instruments and the indicators developed to provide data in order to answer the research questions.

An eclectic methodology was adopted in order to deal with the complex issues of teacher-community relationships. A framework was developed which provided a checklist for systematic examination of teacher involvement and factors which influenced such involvement or non-involvement in community development activities.

This research is based on formal interview schedules and field observation. The interviews were conducted with project teachers, headmasters, non-project teachers and with the members of the rural community between November 1984, and August 1985. The value of using structured interview schedules has been noted by many researchers among whom was Doob (1967) who suggested that they serve a number of important functions such as free expression by respondents and allows further probing.

However, the literature on survey research in Africa seems to suggest that interviews and questionnaires yield low reliability and validity. Barr (1973) reported three groups of researchers who were skeptical about the utility of these methods. One such class of researchers found little to recommend in the quantitative approach to data collection in African situation. Another group, limited the utility of these methods only to the corroboration of existing evidence and not to the generation of new data. The last group held that any application of survey research in Africa was bound to fail because 'we cannot be sure that the answers given reflect what Africans really think' (Barr, 1973).

It was further noted that Africans when asked about themselves often tended to present desirable public image of themselves. But who would not? Martin (1983) claimed that in developing countries especially in rural areas asking questions about somebody and his experience was far from in keeping with the everyday life of the people, who in a number of cases still associate questions with bad consequences. Martin further argued that most respondents in developing countries were not accustomed to condensing their thoughts into preformed categories and lack of familiarity with surveys could lead to misunderstandings.

Goldthorpe (1952) reported that in East Africa counting people was traditionally thought to do harm to somebody. In some tribes in the southern Sudan, particularly among the Nilotics, and the 'Sudanic groups'; cattle owners would not disclose the number of cattle they have or the number of children a mother has borne. In many places a male enumerator would never be allowed to talk to the women. Further evidence shows that rural inhabitants were suspicious about government data collectors because it was associated with such resentment or malicious practices as conscription, taxes, land confiscation or people arrested.

However, many factors were considered which were believed to influence the proper utilization of the adopted instruments of data collection. These were, developmental constraints, educational, cultural and sample size. In the first place, such methods as posting or mailing of questionnaires and telephone interviews were practically out of the question, since they were either non-existent or function marginally. Communication and transport problems in the Maridi district have been noted in the previous chapter. Martin et al (1983) have discussed the applicability of postal and telephone interviews at length in developing countries.

Secondly, the level of educational background of the respondents was considered as an important factor. In this context it was correctly assumed that both teachers and the members of the rural community included in the

sample were of low educational attainment. The premise which proved to be true in the field was that, poor educational attainment would lead to linguistic problems, not only because it could lead to problems of translation of questions, but more seriously about the correct understanding and interpretation of the questions by the respondents.

Nachmias (1976) pointed out that the use of structured interviews for data collection is based on the assumption that (a) the respondents have a common vocabulary, (b) the questions are phrased in equally meaningful manner to every respondent, (c) the context of the questions are themselves identical, and (d) that the sequence and wording of these questions are fixed and identical for every respondent. Clearly this method was not appropriate to this study where most respondents required clarification of the questions and this often meant rephrasing them.

Secondly, low educational attainment could have affected the number of completed questionnaires which could be valid for analysis. The alternative adopted was to use personal interviews containing open-ended questions. In this way we overcame the problems of linguistic misunderstanding by rephrasing and simplifying the questions, as the need arose. Indeed flexibility was an important quality to adopt when dealing with rural people. This approach is recommended for use in rural areas and developing countries at large, with respondents who are often not highly educated, not accustomed to survey research and who still associate probing with some suspicion and evils.

In order to minimize some of these problems associated with rural communities, the researcher and his team of interviewers who are all indigeneous to the district, adopted the following procedure. First, before the actual interviews commenced, the team made a casual tour of all the schools, chiefs and subchiefs in the sample area. The introductory letter from the District Education Officer was extremely useful. These visits enabled us to meet as many members of the community as possible before interviewing

them. It was possible for the team to explain beforehand what they were intending to do and how important the study was to the country.

By adopting this method, it was easy to locate the most important and influential personalities in the community and enlist their support and cooperation during the fieldwork. The fieldwork coincided with Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) attacks east of the district. This made members of the community, the police and the army and the teachers suspicious of our intentions in the district. However, as stated earlier, the introductory letter and previous visits, helped to dispense with the suspicions.

By maximising the support and cooperation of the leading men in the community, it was possible to establish a certain degree of rapport with the local people. Another method which helped was to entertain the interviewees after the formal interview session to some local beer which was cheap. In fact it was discovered that more open discussions took place under such informal conditions. These efforts paved the way for free flow of discussions and answering of questions which would have proven difficult under the prevailing circumstances described here.

A questionnaires to be filled in by individual respondents is inappropriate as a method of data collection for a number of reasons. Apart from illiteracy and transport problems to get to the respondents, questionnaires require that questions be sufficiently simple and straightforward to be understood with the help of the printed instructions and definitions. (Moses & Kalton, 1971). What is sufficiently simple and straightforward depends on the population being surveyed and the language employed has to be chosen with local population in mind. This is difficult among a population which is largely illiterate.

Therefore, questionnaires were not considered as a method of data collection for this study. Despite the short comings of interview schedule, it was employed and care was taken to ensure that subjectivity and biasness

was not allowed in its use. For this reason a second method was included in the study, field observation.

The technique has been used most by anthropologists and social psychologists in studying ongoing processes in particular societies. It has the advantage of being a research technique of understanding the inner nature of social situations and yet at the same time of viewing them objectively.

The special value of this method to this study is that it describes attitudes, expectations and disillusionments (Linderman, 1924). It gives the picture of the real situation and as such it was an important method of obtaining data for this kind of study. A framework for observation was developed which helped as a guide to what we intended to record. The procedure described here equally applied to rural primary school teachers included in the sample.

With all these considerations in mind, the researcher was particularly interested in preserving as much as possible qualitative elements throughout the collection and collation of quantitative data. The interview schedule were designed deliberately to give respondents every chance to express their views as freely as possible. Much effort was put into recording all respondents views and comments about social, educational and developmental issues.

The data collected therefore reflects the body of views, opinions and attitudes of individual teachers and community members and teachers as an occupational group resident in the rural areas. For this reason individual statements and synonymous groups' statements have been included in the final analysis of data.

2 SAMPLING AND INSTRUMENTATION:

The standard approach to sampling suggests that random, stratified samples be drawn up following certain scientific principles. This assumes a good knowledge of the population to be studied. This however, appears relatively easy in developed countries where regular census of population, households, schools and teachers provide detailed information on various aspects of the community. But in developing countries, such statistics are rudimentary or not even available. For instance, we had planned to get data on the total number of teachers in the district, by age, sex, length of service, educational background and professional training from the official records of the District Education Office. We were disappointed, the only official record was the pay sheet. Even then, it could not be relied upon. Consequently however, our data proved the pay sheet wrong. According to the pay sheet, there were 232 teachers in the district. Our record showed 208 teachers. The pay sheet included teachers who had died, transfered and those who have retired but continued to be on record. Certainly somebody, an official in the office must be cashing their pay cheques.

Zakovick (1983) noted that the conditions existing in developing countries are unfavourable by definition. Basic information for constructing a sample frame was sparse, villages and schools were isolated over long distances, remote, communication was poor and most villages and schools had to be reached only on foot or bicycles. As such, tracing potential respondents was indeed a problem. For this reason cluster sampling method was adopted for the study of members of rural community and a refined version for the schools and teachers.

The study as pointed out above sampled villages and schools rather than individuals in the community and schools. This approach of sampling schools rather than individual teachers had been discussed at length by Kish (1963), Butcher (1966) and Kalton (1971). The approach had the advantage of reducing the number of schools to be included in the sample. It was also easy to enlist

the support and cooperation of the headmasters and leading members of the community. In using this approach the researcher was able to see the actual situation in the school and assess the teachers' living conditions and quality of schools in terms of materials, equipment, school buildings and teachers' living conditions as regards accommodation, pay and listen to their problems. It also accorded a favourable climate to talk to a large number of teachers as a group at a time. Lastly, it provided a basis for obtaining individual data on teachers.

It has to be pointed out that, informal discussions with teachers and members of the community played a very important role in this study. Both teachers and members of the community who were not included or selected for interview, but when they happened to be present at the time of interview, were asked to participate in the discussions and their comments were subsequently or immediately recorded in note books.

The timing of the fieldwork was inappropriate. It coincided with widespread strikes by teachers for not receiving their salaries. This strike in itself was an indication of widespread dissatisfaction among teachers in the district and elsewhere in the rural areas of southern Sudan. It was also dry season, during which teachers were engaged in a wide variety of activities such as hunting, fishing and honey-tapping. On both accounts, tracing of teachers became difficult and more often our first visits were fruitless. Return visits had to be the norm which cost us both time and energy.

3. CHOICE OF INDICATORS OF TEACHER INVOVLEMENT

In selecting the areas of teachers' environment for inclusion in the study, reference was made to a number of sources. For instance, the elements deemed relevant as factors which would influence teacher involvement in community development tasks were drawn up by reference to the literature on community development, characteristics of change agents and the role of

education in development. Secondly, certain indicators were selected because of their relevance to the Sudanese situation.

Another important decision taken right at the start of the research was to exclude any direct measure of classroom activities from the study though such an inclusion could have given a better insight into the effectiveness of teachers in the rural areas. However, the scope of the study and the resources available to the researcher could not cope with the practical problems involved in getting adequate sampling of behaviour in the classroom. Nevertheless, certain aspects of schools which were seen to influence teachers' personal abilities and feelings were included as sources of constraints or satisfaction.

Equally included was a measure of the total teaching load, involvement in extra-curricula activities, administrative responsibilities, out of school activities and how teachers spent their leisure times. These provided an indication of the total range of teachers' involvement in the school and their influence on out-of-school activities.

In all five areas were selected which were believed to be crucial to the extension of the teachers' role. These were:

(i) Community/school environment.

(ii) Community perception of teachers' role.

(iii) Teachers' perception of their role.

(iv) Teachers' satisfaction with their conditions of service and school resource materials.

(v) Teachers' social attributes, general education and professional backgrounds.

The attempt was to determine the effect of these five variables on extension of teachers' role into community development activities in rural areas.

Community or school environment as pointed out earlier, was sampled in terms of accessibility and categorized as urban, rural and remote rural for

reasons given under justification for the study. Distance of schools from the main town and the main motor-ways were taken into consideration. The size of the school was indicated by the number of the teaching force, number of classes and the total number of pupils enrolled in the school.

Measures of teachers' involvement in community development tasks was determined in terms of teachers' organizational, leadership and liaisonal abilities, as follows:

(a) Teacher's Organizational role:

(i) This was determined by investigating the extent to which teachers have been instrumental in organizing and running a number of community institutions such as adult literacy classes, cooperative unions, self-help projects, discussion groups. Cultural activities and fund raising.

(ii) The second indicator adopted was teachers' organizational ability and leadership capacity in using students to accomplish a number of community development activities in the community. Such activities included digging community wells, to provide clean drinking water, toilet pits, garbage pits, spraying mosquito hide-outs, cleaning the village community areas and using students to study community problems.

(b) Measure of teachers' leadership role:

(i) Teachers' leadership role was operationalized in terms of teachers' membership of local organizations and elective positions they held in such organizations as cooperative unions, church and village councils, local political party, youth clubs, womens associations and voluntary associations.

It was assumed that teachers' membership in local organizations would provide a measure of teachers' interaction with the members of the

community while elective positions indicated their leadership posture.

(ii) The second indicator is based on the assumption that individual members of the community would seek help from teachers on a personal basis. Such assistance as writing letters, loans of money, medicine, filling forms for registration of business, land or individual members seeking information on major political events, employment, health, and so on.

(iii) The third indicator of leadership is liaisonal. The extent to which rural primary school teachers associate with government officials and aid agencies.

It was believed that if teachers associated with such agencies which have access to scarce resources, members would perceive teachers' influence as transcending beyond the local area; if teachers are seen to attract aid for local development, and speak out on behalf of the local people, or through their allies have access to material resources (drugs, building materials, agricultural tools) commonly not available to the general members of the rural community, teachers would be seen as leaders.

(c) Measure of teachers' perception of their role:

It is here submitted that if teachers see their role as confined to the classroom and the school, dealing with children, teachers would be reluctant to extend their work beyond the parameters of the school. On the other hand, if they perceived their role as one of leadership, organizing members of the community into active groups for purpose of development, finding out community problems, and prescribing solutions to those problems, contacting government and aid agencies for assistance to the community; in other words teachers perceiving their role as extending beyond the traditional role,

teachers would be willing to assume more responsibilities far and above what they already perform. Initially, the plan was to apply or replicate Lauglo's (1972) framework of 'extended - restricted' role orientation. In the field this model proved futile and difficult to replicate.

The main constraint was the inability of rural primary school teachers to understand and organise their thoughts into required categories. After the pre-test analysis, it was clear that teachers' level of education was indeed the main constraint. The sophistication of the intended 'rating scale', ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree did not match their level of academic standard.

The alternative choice was to use open ended questions, caree selection, if teachers were to start their lifes fresh and their out-door, community activities. Some of the questions were refined to read more simply as 'I would like to organise and run literacy classes in this community or introduce modern agricultural methods, health practices and what problems would you as a primary school teacher in this community meet in such an extension of your role'. It was mainly an attempt to gauge overall views of teachers' role from what they view their role to be.

Secondly, teachers were asked to express views on what they perceive 'development' to be. It was assumed that if teachers perceive development in terms of skyscrapers, highways, establishment of large agricultural schemes and industries, carried out by the government and financial bodies, such teachers would see their role as confined to children and within the classroom.

On the other hand, if teacher perceive 'development' as acquisition of modern values, attitudes and acceptance of time and economy serving methods, in terms of simple technologies, such teachers would be found to propagate modern techniques such as modern agricultural skills, health practices and would tend to see their role in the context of helping others to acquire these new practices.

(d) Indicators of factors of Satisfaction and Morale:

(i) The indicators of factors of satisfaction and morale selected were teachers' conditions of service, problems teachers experienced in the course of their duties, salary, incentives, accommodation, career prospects in promotion and training and how teachers assess their position with other employees in other government departments in the same employment category.

(ii) The second indicator was school problems and how serious these problems were to the teacher. Included were, provisions of school materials, equipment, teaching aids, stationary, text-books, quality of school buildings and materials. Provision of materials and equipment for practical work outside the classroom, such as workshop and agricultural tools, fertilizers, insecticides, health facilities and other resources for out-door work.

(e) Measure of teachers' status and prestige indicators:

The indicators for 'status' and 'prestige' were based on the assumption that rural people would tend to seek advice and assistance from those people in the community whom they consider important for various reasons, such as access to scarce resources, wealth, and power. To such people, they give respect and assign status and prestige.

In this respect, it is believed that 'status' and 'prestige' indicators conceptualized in terms of community 'demands' or 'requests' on the teachers in terms of advice on agriculture, health, employment opportunities, education, self-help projects; requesting the teachers to speak on their behalf and approaching government and aid agencies for help would give a fair indication of teachers' status and prestige in the community.

(f) Measure of adoption of new and improved practice among teachers:

To avoid repitition, much of what should have been discussed here in way of justification has been discussed in chapter III. However, the indicators for adoption of new improved practices was based on observation guided by a check-list.

The main assumption was that it was not enough (Batten 1953) for teachers as change agents to teach hygiene, modern agricultural techniques, better nutrition and other health habits, but to practice them in their own homes, on their farms and in their own behaviour. Teachers by this reasoning should be first adopters of new ways of doing things so that they avail themselves as models for emulation.

One of the duties of the teacher becomes that of persuading the community that the benefits to be derived from the new methods are worth all the bother of abandoning old familiar ways. Demonstration, thus becomes a major component of the teacher's role. However, experience has shown that rarely do parents have faith in the practical knowledge of teachers about agricultural matters, health and nutrition, but even then, teachers and school leavers do not practice on their farms or observe modern health and diet practices they teach or learn in school. Lack of adequate practical knowledge reported among Cameroonian teachers (IPAR: BUEA: 1977) about modern agricultural techniques and diet doomed this pactice to failure.

The method adopted was to take keen interest in listening to teachers' problems, predicaments and their activities such as school gardens, pupils handicrafts and their attempts to community development. In this way a certain degree of closeness was achieved. It was hence possible to spend as much time as possible with various teachers who often invited us to lunch in their homes, therefore enabling us enough time to observe their way of life in depth.

(g) The check-list used as guide included among other things the following:

(a) Patterns of teachers' lifestyle in terms of adoption of modern agricultural practices, methods used, seed types, spacing of plants.

(b) Health practices: using pit toilets, eating utensils for example, sharing or eating from the same plate, boiling drinking water, or perferance for bore hole water to stream water, covering food.

(c) Animal and Poultry keeping:

Goats, sheep and chickens when few in number, were often kept in the house where people sleep but this was in the traditional societies. The tendency among educated people or enlightened groups is to keep animals however few in number in separate pens. Animals and chickens still move freely fending for themselves. Any divergence from this practice would occur through acquisition of new values and attitutdes among the rural members and teachers. This would therefore appear a fair indicator of measure of adoption of new practices.

(d) Nutrition and Home-keeping:

This included types and kinds of food, the standard of food preparation, type of food teachers' families usually use, food planning.

(e) Patterns of behaviour:

This included smartness, cleanness of home, child care, debts, drunkedness, punctuality in school and respect for the headmaster.

(f) Indicator of social and professional attributes of teachers.

Much has been discussed about the importance of teachers' social and

professional attributes in the community development process, in the rural areas. Their main point in this discussion is in the way they categorize teachers into potential and non-potential change agents. Chapter III has a well documented section on this issue.

It needs, however to be noted that in the traditional African societies, authority, respect and influence are primarily based on age. Young persons are often considered too immature and inexperienced to handle issues of major concern to the community. Hence, teachers who are young, as the majority of them appear to be, may be regarded as less influential thus low in status.

The items included were: age, sex, place of birth, tribe, and language spoken. General education background stated in years, levels attained, certificates held. Professional training included teachers education and training, either through full courses or inservice, length of training, place of training and types and kinds of training received.

Teachers' level of experience, length of service in years, number of transfers, length of stay in the present school, subjects taught, number of lessons per week and extra curricula activities, administrative responsibilities, sports and others. These items would give some insights into the total range of the teachers' involvement in the school and whether it would be realistic to extend teachers role either as a result of being over-loaded or ignore certain school functions in favour of community development work by rural teachers.

Finally, technical training in community development, agriculture, health, home economics, nutrition, animal husbandry, and rural vocations necessary for community development work. The skills needed should include various educational processes like, use of media, pictures, illustrations, demonstration, discussion, and organization of people in rural areas. It was believed that without using 'educative processes' to community development

little would be achieved by teachers.

(h) Data from the members of the community on teachers' role:

In all four items were sought from the members of the community around the schools

(i) Awareness and knowledge of the IRECs project.

(ii) Participation in community development activities.

(iii) Adoption of modern farming, health, nutrition, child-care, animal and chicken keeping practices.

(iv) Attitude of community members towards IREC project and the teachers' involvement in community development activities.

4. AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE:

To be an effective change agent a teacher must of necessity have some knowledge about the community, its customs, structure, leadership and how they live. It is not difficult for rural people to perceive the ignorance of teachers about salient aspects of their life. Secondly, teachers must have the knowledge, skills and appropriate teaching means to make available to the community the knowledge and skills for development.

In short teachers must be aware about existing conditions in the local society, and must have the motivation to assist that society to change. The primary issue here would appear to be 'interaction' between the two groups involved. Each party should see the value in each other's involvement as benefitial. It is important that the teacher identifies with the daily life and aspiration of the people. His patterns of behaviour, lifestyle and his general attitude towards the community will determine his acceptability in the community and his level of interaction in that community.

Stephens (1982) has made a useful and detailed discussion of 'awareness'. Discussing Curle (1976), Stephens points out that, the concept of identity and awareness show that people perceive social problems and how

they react to those perceptions. For Curle, there were two types of personality involved: the 'mystics' - those who seek to promote social change by the subjective means of changing themselves and the 'militants' who favour the objective means of changing institutions of society.

Curle (1982) noted that those with a low awareness and a strong belonging - identity are featured by a core of immovable 'stability, inertia and resistance to any significant change'. Such people are often conservative, old and patriotic in their view. Their low awareness of innovation and change is often compounded with ignorance, neglect and fear of what change has to offer.

Likewise, those with high awareness are a threat to people whose security depends on a belonging - identity. Those with a high sense of awareness and a corresponding low sense of belong - identity will more likely be found in the younger generation. Both groups are to be found in southern Sudan. The importance of this discussion is that, teachers who know few members of the community around their schools do not identify with members of the community, respect their views and have little or no knowledge of the simplest aspects of the community's culture and can hardly be said to be aware of the environment.

On the other hand, the teachers likely to be aware of rural environment, hardships, needs for development are, also, those likely to take an interest in the problems facing the rural people, informing local people about the need for change and have the motivation for introducing change among the local community as personal obligations.

However, while it is important to identify with the masses which is an essential aspect of a teacher's potential ability to influence members of the rural community, perhaps the most important aspect is the attitude that teachers have about the characteristics, problems and development needs of the societies that live in the rural areas.

It therefore stands to reason, that if IRECs made that concious decision

to promote an understanding of development among the rural masses, then, clearly, efforts would have to be devoted to training of teachers particularly attitude orientation, before they can be expected to have much influence on the members of the rural community.

Awareness and knowledge about IRECs project among members of the community was elicited by asking members of the community four questions:

(i) When they first learned or heard about the project?

(ii) What they learned?

(iii) How they learned about it?

(iv) Who among the teachers told them about the project?

The assumption is that 'awareness' is a function of face to face contact between the agent and the client.

(b) Other data from the community members on teachers role included community participation. Members were asked to indicate which activities they participated in, how they participated? and why? Attitude of the community towards the project teachers were sought by asking members to state whether:

(i) IRECs was useful to them

(ii) they consider teachers to be the right kind of people to introduce such changes in the community.

(c) Extension methods used by the teachers:

(i) Home visits

(ii) discussion groups

(iii) field trips.

(iv) Community meetings.

(v) Demonstration.

(d) Degree of participation by members of the community in IREC activities run by teachers.

(i) membership

(ii) regular attendance

(iii) occasional attendance

(iv) committee member

(v) holding an office.

(e) Lastly, expression of teachers' 'status' by members of the community. Members were asked:

(i) Are teachers in this community generally helpful?

(ii) To whom do you often go when you need help or advice on agriculture, health, social problems, such as loan of money, writing letters, education etc.

(iii) What would you like your son or daughter to be, a teacher or something else?

(iv) What would you say about teachers in this community?

In all five different sets of interview schedules were designed to tap the information needed for this study. In all, 46 teachers from non-IRECs primary schools, 46 members of the rural community around the project schools, 11 IREC teachers and 208 teachers in the district. 65 officials including teachers in the Maridi township were interviewed. Based on this enumeration, a total of 396 respondents were the sources of data for this study.

In addition to the formal interviews, observation technique was also employed for validating data which were liable to be influenced by bias due to personal and cultural factors. Data on age and adoption of modern techniques are only two examples on the subject.

5. PRE-TESTING AND EDITING OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

To determine the good and weak points of the interview schedules, pre-tests were planned in three schools and surrounding communities near Juba town. Teachers from the schools were selected on the basis of availability of the teachers at the time of visit by the researcher.

In general, most of the data was easy to get. Pre-testers reported that in general, most of the interviewees were alert, cooperative and cordial. This gave us some idea of the quality of respondents we were to deal with. However, some problems were encountered in several areas. First, as noted earlier, language was a problem. The level of English vocabulary of most rural teachers was low. Hence, when editing the questionnaire, a number of words and phrases had to be changed or simplified.

After a thorough discussion of these problems by the researcher and a trained research assistant, the interview schedules were edited accordingly. The pre-tests were carried out in December 1984. A manual for interviewers was also prepared for the field enumerators.

6. SAMPLING PROCEDURES:

In determining the sample scheme of the study, the objectives of the study were taken into account. Since the study was concerned with the extension of the teachers' role into the community development activities of rural areas, schools and villages were made the sampling units.

Two categories of teachers were sampled, the project and non-project IREC teachers. The project teachers were not randomly selected because their number was few (11). The head teachers of the project schools supplied the list of IREC teachers in their respective schools. Once again the head teachers supplied the full list of their teaching staff in the non-project schools. Hence completing the sampling frame for teachers.

Selection of the members of the community was done on the basis of poll-tax records kept by the three chiefs and their respective sub-chiefs. First, the full list was compiled and then numbers were assigned to them and fifty members were selected randomly. By applying stratified random sampling procedures a proportional allocation of interviewees was adopted.

After completion of the sample frames, three enumerators were employed, to assist in the data collection process. All three selected were

University students. The selection was carried out on the basis of residence in the district, willingness to work with rural people, knowledge of the district and the people and physical fitness.

The interviewers underwent a rigorous one week training period by the trained research assistance. During this period the trainees were oriented on the nature and objectives of the IRECs proejct and the study. They were also introduced to interviewing skills, how to role-play, importance of being humble rather than arrogant university students and how to edit their questionnaires. A practical session was included where the researcher was interviewed by the trainees while the research assistance evaluated their performances during the interview session.

Interviews started every morning until evening. The returned questionnaires were cross-checked by the researcher at the end of the day. All information entered was checked and any information not properly entered was rechecked with the respondent the next day. All enumerators were supplied with note-books and were instructed to record all other information not included in the questionnaires. The observation check-list was equally monitored and equally cross-checked. At the end of the session, each enumerator supplied a detailed report of their experiences.

7. ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data is both descriptive and analytical. The nature of the data collection clearly determines the way that data is arranged and analysed. The methods used in the collection of data do not easily lend themselves to sophisticated statistical methods as answers to straight questions do (Moses and Kalton, 1977).

The main point here is to obtain a complete picture of a person's attitude, social-cultural and political dimensions in the rural environment which influence rural primary school teachers' involvement in community development work as leaders. If we are to benefit from this study, the

analysis must retain a fair amount of details of commentaries and observed events and not to compress them into a set of statistical tables.

The extent to which general education and teacher training curriculum instilled the right kind of attitudes, knowldge and skills for rural participation in the teachers is the main concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

It is claimed that the initial general education and training acquired by rural primary school teachers were important in shaping the teachers and their subsequent involvement in community development as change agents. It is therefore important to make some assessment of teacher education curriculum, types and kinds of training and investigate the extent to which their previous training has implications for their extended community development role.

2. CATEGORIES OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN:

There are at least four categories of teachers in the primary school sector which has implications for selection of teachers for special educational projects. The first class of teachers is composed of the missionary educated and trained teachers, which are described here as 'first generation of teachers' both as a result of their age and the type of education and training they had. The teachers in this category are few by number and confined mainly to the rural areas as their educational backgrounds could not allow them to teach in the more affluent urban and progressive schools.

This category is further subdivided into 'approved' and 'selected' teachers, terms introduced during the missionary era which have persisted to date due to the importance attached to them in the colonial period. The 'approved teachers' were sub-divided into two grades. Those with 4 years of elementary school plus 3 years of training and were qualified to teach in standards 1-3 as vernacular teachers. Those with 6 years of primary education plus 2 years of training were qualified to teach P1-P4. There is

doubt however, (Gardner, 1977) as to whether these teachers should be considered as trained or not. In the opinion of the author, they should be taken as untrained.

'Selected teachers' on the other hand, were originally selected for missionary employment as teachers. They had a minimum of elementary school education of 4 years before selection. The criteria for selection being 'devotion to christianity'. After selection and serving as teachers for a minimum period of one year, they were given three months in-service training in a mission centre. These teachers were often deployed in the village schools which teach to an equivalent of standard II syllabus. In recent years such teachers are classified as untrained and are no longer employed in the government schools but are found in self-help private schools.

Clearly such a composition of teachers presents an enormous problem to education planners particularly when introducing changes. The very act of categorizing means that there are observable differences among them in their academic achievements and in their abilities to accept and implement educational changes. Much has been documented about teachers in rural areas but the author believes strongly that gross injustice has been done to teachers when they are discussed outside the contexts of grade distinction, educational background and the educational institutional level in which they serve. (Dove, 1979; Griffiths, 1976; Hawes, 1978).

The first generation of teachers as discussed here, would appear conservative and resistant to change. Under these conditions the extension of their role to include community development would be seen as a stumbling block to the execution of IRECs and possibly reduce the whole project to a mockery if left in the hands of this category of teachers.

The second group of teachers, consists of junior or intermediate school leavers with 9 years of schooling. The official government policy stipulates that in the future all primary schools should be staffed by this class of teachers. After completion of 9 years of general education, the successful

candidates are put through 4 years of training. This class of teachers is better educated relative to the first generation.

The third class of teachers consists of secondary school leavers. Secondary school graduates enter teaching on their own accord. There is no provision made by the government for their training. Nevertheless, they form by far the largest group but most of them are untrained. It should, however be noted that the demand for secondary school leavers in other sectors of the economy makes this class an unreliable source of recruiting future teachers if more job opportunities happen to become available in the long term. Nevertheless, in terms of long term planning and in respect to improvement of primary school standards, there is need for a government policy on recruitment and training of secondary school leavers as primary school teachers. So far their performance as teachers has only been in filling gaps created by shortage of teachers.

The last class is the voluntary teachers in the self help schools. Most of these schools run classes to the equivalent of standards 1-11. The teachers are dependent for their support upon contributions made in cash or kind from the parents. Since parents are often poor peasants, this has largely been reflected in the poverty of teachers and school materials in these schools.

Generally, the educational backgrounds of the teachers is largely unknown to the education authorities. Gardner (1977) reported that '---little further information can be given as statistical data are not available and the regional government does not have the resources to provide effective supervision and control' By and large, what goes on in these schools as teaching, learning and their potential as community change agents remain pretty unknown to the authorities.

To sum up, the educational background and training of primary school teachers in southern Sudan range from two to twelve years of general education and from two to four years of professional training. Such a range of teachers' background manifests the difficulty of selection of teachers for special rural development programmes such as IRECs. Variability in educational and professional training also makes it difficult to assess teachers' teaching abilities in special subjects and to bring about a national unification of standard for all primary school teachers as an occupational group.

One would therefore expect that in selection of teachers for IRECs project, a certain criteria for selection would have been adopted. A research into the background of teachers would be an ideal strategy in order to recruit those teachers who are more likely to benefit from such training and through whom the project objectives could be achieved. Our research find no evidence of such criteria or research.

One general problem in southern Sudan is the lack of data on teachers by level of education and training. Appendix IV shows the distribution of teachers by provinces, sex and training for government schools. Appendix V, shows the same for non-government schools. In the government schools there were 2,730 male teachers and 741 females. The proportion of females to males is 1:4. The data shows that 1,625 teachers were trained of which 338 were females and 1,287 males. Trained female teachers represent about 21 per cent of the total trained teachers in the government schools. There were 1,443 untrained male teachers and 403 female teachers.

In all, 51 per cent of the teachers were reported untrained in 1977/78 period (Gardner, 1977: 38-39). The same report noted that there was a general shortage of teachers particularly at the primary school level and that the teaching force was considerably diluted by untrained teachers. He pointed out that the teacher-class ratio was 1.1:1 class. This number according to him allowed very little latitude for reducing teaching load for the head

teachers or for covering teacher absences. The condition of primary school staffing could be summed up as follows (Gardner, 1977: 38-39).

(i) Staffing was barely sufficient to cover the existing number of classes (not to warrant extra additional duties).

(ii) It required that almost every teacher should teach full-time (no spare time for extra work outside the classroom).

(iii) The weak staffing meant that even genuine and unavoidable teacher absences could not adequately be covered.

(iv) The system depended on untrained teachers for almost half its strength.

(v) Only 20 per cent of the teachers were female.

The report correctly stated that the situation was critical and had created considerable problems of teacher placement, particularly in the remote rural areas where, not unnaturally, many teachers were reluctant to work. The report pointed out that in the remote districts and those with scarce educational facilities in particular, the number of untrained teachers exceeded the number of trained ones. Likewise these same districts were usually the ones with lowest number of female teachers.

Clearly if staffing is critical as expressed here, teachers would find it difficult to become involved in activities which take them outside the school. It is common that teachers claim to be overloaded in their classroom work. It is equally true that untrained teachers often find it difficult to cope with their classroom teaching duties and need expert advice, and assistance of the more experienced teachers in the school, particularly in lesson preparation which takes much of teachers' spare time. Teachers like all other people, have their private lifes to lead, have families to attend to, perform other personal duties and have a need for leisure. Under these conditions teachers will find little spare time for extra work outside the classroom.

Finally teachers experience strain in their daily work due to shortage of staff, poverty of material resources and above all lack of adequate preparation. Much of what should constitute professional duties of a teacher, such as planning at school level, preparation of teaching materials, research on pupils' backgrounds, curriculum problems and much more, are to a large extent not performed because of the aforesaid factors. To this extent, how realistic is it to extend teachers' role into areas which traditionally do not constitute their duties?

To attempt an answer to this question, it is necessary to discuss the extent to which teacher education and training programmes through their syllabuses, attempted to orientate teachers to rural development.

3. GENERAL SCHOOL SYLLABUSES

An important factor in the discussion of teacher education is the quality and type of school curriculum through which they passed. This is important as these institutions (primary, intermediate and secondary schools) provide the sources for teachers in the primary school system. Therefore a case could be advanced that if learning-teaching processes are not effective and rurally oriented, the products of such a school system, would equally display such negative tendencies in their teaching career, as these tendencies are carried forward from the initial schooling to teaching service.

Criticisms of primary and secondary school curriculum have been in the vogue for sometime and reported in many educational reports in the Sudan. Among them are, Education Sector Review (1975), Garvey-Williams (1976), Kinunda (1981), Gardner (1977), and Ngalam (1979). In a nutshell, an analysis of primary, junior and secondary school curriculum in the southern Sudan, show that they are hardly adapted to local environment and special needs of the rural community.

The general consensus among the educated southerners, met during the fieldwork was that generally education at the three levels, has failed to develop the childrens' potential. It has uprooted and displaced them from their traditional life on the land. School children, it was claimed, aspire to hold office work rather than farming, carpentry, masonry and other forms of vocations. Every child, therefore, aspires to reach the top, but few succeed in their struggle.

School syllabus at all the three levels provide the usual academic oriented and traditional subjects like mathematics, the Sciences, English, Arabic, Geography and History but no practical subjects or activities on agriculture, woodwork and crafts. The Kinunda (1981) report pointed out that 'learning of subject matter depended largely on memorization of facts without involving the students in observation, application, demonstration, analysis or problem solving'.

The curriculum at all levels failed to give the students basic skills and attitudes to enable them to be self-reliant, independent, and productive citizens. The students and therefore teachers produced by such a system, in the view of the writer, completed their education ill-prepared for any productive and active life in rural areas where majority of them have to spend their life. As prospective teachers, they have inherited qualities which are not condusive to rural life and of little practical value to community development work.

Much of what was being taught in the schools relate more to passing final examinations and have no relevance to the child's needs and his environment. An examination of school syllabus reveal the alien nature of what is being taught and learned. For example, in History, southern children learn about Arab heroes, Jihads, the Mahdis, the Trans-Saharan trade, but nothing about the great and rich heritage of south Sudan. The great chiefs like Yambio who fought against the Arabs slave traders and against the British, are not included.

English langauge and literature are still based on English books written for English children. Most advanced reading books included in the syllabus are "Flowers for Mrs Harry", "Pride and Prejudice", "The Importance of Being Earnest" and others. Arabic books are in abundance. The illustrations carried in these books have no resemblence to the southern Sudan environment. The attitudes and values to be incalicated through them often run contrary to southern cultures, particularly when one set of values is Islamic and the other African.

In addition, there was the problem of lack of teaching aids and materials. Kinunda (1981) noted that there was almost total lack of teaching aids, text-books, equipment and furniture. Many school buildings urgently need repair and rehabilitation. Nine years after the civil war, schools still show signs of the war. Facilities like science laboratories, libraries, practical rooms for domestic science, arts and crafts are acutely lacking. Teaching of science subjects is entirely theoretical. These problems have adverse effects on the quality of those school leavers who eventually join teaching.

It is apparent that the curricula and the teaching-learning processes adopted are geared to white collar jobs and hardly adapted to instil sympathetic sentiments towards rural transformation. Generally the syllabuses discussed have ignore attitudinal, personality and skill development which would enable students after leaving school to assume leadership and organizational roles in their private and public lifes.

To date, as our field observation will show in chapter VI, schools have been left to decay. It is common to find schools in the midst of tall grass, lawns have overgrown, flower beds abandoned and simple maintenance and repair have not been attempted. In a sense both students and their teachers have failed to develop initiative to help themselves. The virtue of hard work which IRECs is attempting to restore has been lost.

Given the academically oriented school curricula, lack of pedagogic skills, poor teaching-learning processes, poverty of teaching aids and lack of leadership trainings, one would be obliged to claim that would-be-teachers from these educational backgrounds, would be effective in rural development efforts, unless the teacher training programmes are effective enough to instil the right kind of attitude, skills and sentiments. It is to this discussion that we now turn.

4. TEACHER TRAINING CURRICULUM

The type of curriculum, method of training, the skills and attitudes acquired during training could have great impact on the teachers' role in rural transformation activities.

Teacher training in the Sudan is still based on the colonial training system. Both the objectives and curriculum reflect this legacy in that they are inadequate and inappropriate: inadequate because it does not include programmes of rural transformation and inappropriaate because it does not instil the right kinds of skills and attitude for rural development in the would-be-teachers.

The Sudan government's policy of ruralization of primary schools curriculum and the organization of IRECs, would require that the programmes of teacher training adopt well defined objectives and a training based on the practical realities of rural environments. The would-be-teachers should acquire and practice rural vocations as part of their training programmes in order to be able to teach and practice them competently under rural conditions. The advantage to teachers and the members of the rural community from such a training programme would be enormous.

Teacher competence in teaching of science subjects, agriculture, home-economics, arts and crafts, exposure of teachers to some skills in persuasion, demonstration, democratic leadership styles, decision making, planning, finding out community problems and evaluation of their own

activities in such areas as literacy classes, school self-help projects, would all seem too important to be ignored and left to chance by the training programmes.

Appendices VI, VII and VIII show the teacher training timetable for 1980/81. The first three years of the course concentrate on the improvement of subject matter in the traditional subjects to the level of general certificate of education (GCE). These subjects are taught by graduate teachers as subject specialists with no professional training in how to teach.

There is a rigid separation between 'what to teach' and 'how to teach'. This separation requires tutors for purely educational and method courses on one hand, and 'subject specialists' on the other. However, the syllabus for the first three years in the institutes have no relevance to what is to be taught in the rural primary schools.

The Kinunda Consultancy report (1981) on teacher training in southern Sudan was very critical of the teaching methods in the institutes. It revealed that the syllabus and text-books in the institutes made very little reference to the learning experience of the local situation and environment in which the schools were located. The report stated that:

> Oral presentation of facts to be memorized by the trainees, with little practical activity or application dominated in all the institutions.
> (p. 23).

The evidence indicates that students left the institutes without acquiring skills in different teaching methods.

The subject Rural Education was equally taught theoretically, with no practical exposure, for lack of qualified teacher trainers and facilities. Training in various crafts such as carpentry, masonry, blacksmiths, local crafts was not initiated. The practical aspects of the course did not receive

as much attention as the academic subjects. The report noted that:

> we saw no evidence of practical work such as growing of vegetables, poultry keeping, community literacy and community education in health and nutrition, participation in community projects and activities in all the institutes we visited. (p.65).

Clearly, some of these activities do not require a substantial outlay, but only resourcefulness, creativity and enthusiasm on the part of the tutors and organizers of the course.

For instance, at Mbili Institute (an all female college) simple equipment such as charcoal stove could be effectively used to prepare a well balanced diet from local ingredients and food stuffs which correspond more closely to the realities and needs of the majority of the people living in the rural areas. Enormous opportunities for initiating improvements on traditional methods of fuel use, food preservation, improved local diet and many other traditional methods exist which need testing and adapting them to various local conditions. Teacher training institutes appear to be logical testing grounds for improving subsistence economy in the rural areas.

5. CONSTRAINTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Kinunda (1981), Gardner (1977), Garvey-Williams (1976) and Ngalam (1979) have all reported on the shortage of teaching-learning materials in schools and teacher training colleges in southern Sudan.

Inspite of the existing inadequacy of facilities and shortages of equipment and tools, the institutes could still engage themselves in community development and training programmes within the towns and in the neighbouring rural communities. 'Students could engage in a variety of

productive activities such as poultry-keeping, gardening, fruit cultivation and handicrafts with minimum resource inputs' (1981, Report, p.61).

Indeed the institutes could have engaged themselves fruitfully in such activities as crop production, tree planting, horticulture and other local activities as plenty of land exists. Nowhere did the institutes play an active role as promoters of local music, dance and drama. Some of the criticism raised here in the final analysis may be directed to college tutors for lack of initiative and creativity. Generally rural primary school teachers appear inadequately prepared in terms of acquisition of rural development skills for effective community development work as are the college tutors.

In a Regional Workshop for Teacher Educators (Maridi, 9th to 20th Nov. 1981), participants were asked to list the main problems of teacher training in the southern Sudan and place them in order of priority. Of the various problems identified by the participants, four stood out as serious problems.

First was teacher training curriculum. This was generally agreed to be unsatisfactory. What was usually regarded in southern Sudan as the main pre-service course was designed in 1948, and mainly northern and Arabic in emphasis. It was suggested during the workshop that work be set in motion to produce a well-planned curriculum for the primary school of the south with a closely related teacher training curriculum tailored to the environment and society of the southern Sudan. It ought to be noted that this workshop took place at the time when IRECs had officially been launched and was designing curriculum, but sad to say, the teacher training curriculum was not given its due importance in IRECs.

The second serious problem noted at the workshop was the quality and qualifications of teacher trainers. There was a strong feeling that some machinery be set up to select and train appropriate personnel for teacher training. Gardner (1977) had noted that 'there does not exist a group of experienced trained college tutors in the southern Sudan'. Kinunda (1981) asserted that 'training of dedicated teacher educators should receive a high

priority'. In some teachers' institutes teachers from primary and intermediate schools with little or no teacher education qualifications had to be employed at least on a part-time basis to fill staff shortages. Such college tutors with little training and experience could not be expected to produce teachers who would be effective community development workers above their normal classroom work.

Other logistical problems equally affect the effectiveness of these institutes. Apart from the usual communication problems, there is the problem of the inappropriate books, materials and equipment prepared by the National Institute of Curriculum Development in Khartoum. These books and materials take little cognizance of the environmental conditions in the south. An added problem is the use of Arabic as medium of instruction in the primary teachers institutes. For instance in 1978/79, 61 candidates were enrolled in an inservice course. 27 of these was an English medium group. Since all the course materials were in Arabic the English medium group had to withdraw (Kinunda, 1981, p.70) and some returned to their schools as untrained teachers.

The language constraint which was disincentive to the English medium group caused some of them to quit the course and to seek admission to other institutions such as agriculture, health, cooperatives and administration where there were no such langauge requirements and which offered them better and quicker career prospects than teaching.

Finally, all the five teacher training institutes are located in urban or better developed areas. The transfer of trainees to urban areas exposes them to the urban influences and job opportunities. Few complete these courses as more of them opt for better and lucrative jobs in urban areas. Dove (1981, 1986) has discussed the effects of location of training grounds in urban areas on teachers at length. Those who complete are often reluctant to return to the rural schools. •

How realistic then, is IRECs expectation of rural primary school teachers in the southern Sudan in terms of what the project has outlined in its project proposals as discussed in chapter II? The above analysis indicates that there is little reason to praise the education system's performance in preparing teachers for rural development. Both the general education and teacher training curricula were inappropriate and inadequaate for rural development purposes.

Lack of prior orientation of teachers during their general education and training years have made teachers to regard manual work with distaste and resentment. Teachers have tended to give less than the times indicated to the practical subjects. The tendency in most rural schools to give work as punishments to pupil offenders has equally made pupils regard practical work with resentment.

Agriculture is perhaps the most important aspect of the rural development IRECs would like to emphasize. But agriculture being a technical subject is beset with a number of problems not commonly realized. It needs, land, seeds, and tools. It needs warehouses, or storage facilities, transport, markets, it requires basic skills in management, record-keeping, and accountancy apart from capital investment in fertilizers and chemicals.

One of the pre-conditions for teachers to be effective agents of agricultural change is that they should be practising and successful farmers themselves. They should be familiar with modern, well established farming methods, new agricultural information and with scientific foundations acquired through applied subjects like Biology, Chemistry, Physics and they also need technical knowledge. Finally, by turning the school garden into a laboratory for teaching and demonstration of modern farming to the community members. This requires a sound training during the initial and in-service courses - conditions which the present school and college curricula do not satisfy.

Our analysis of school and college curricula indicate that no provisions have been made for field and survey techniques as a basis for identifying community needs and problems. It would therefore be even more unrealistic to expect rural primary school teachers to identify community problems. Rather, the kind of education and type of training they have received actually mitigates against their very involvement in identifying community problems and needs.

According to Miles (1969) a change agent is any individual or groups capable of performing a wide variety of actions serving to influence the various components of events which serve as determinants of the engagement of the people involved.

In this context, several facets of the school and college curricula will impinge directly on the ability of the teachers to act as change agents. The several actions of a change-agent include, identifying problems, analysing the problem, suggesting solutions (hypothesis), solving the problem (project design), implementing and evaluating the project with possible modifications of the methods used. Clearly, both the school and college curricula, appear ineffective in developing these components in our primary school teachers.

The school curriculum has often been percieved in terms of separate subjects with sets of facts and knowledge, to be crammed by the students, and has been geared to passing qualifying examinations, and not, as a major part of the social, cultural, economic and political development of the society. Likewise, the college curriculum is geared to presenting facts, concepts and general knowledge in a logical order but not to train teachers to search for appropriate sources of knowledge and skills within the community or how to solve community problems of poverty.

In this context, both the school and college curriculum are narrowly defined. There is a need to expand the definitions of school and college curriculum in designing of teaching-learning strategies in both institutions,

if teachers are to develop appropriate knowledge and skills for a community development role.

As will be shown, our analysis of field data and observation indicate that generally primary school teachers are ill-prepared. Their educational backgrounds are not adequately related to what they are expected to perform in the rural areas. Their training have not instilled in them the skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes required for a wide range of community development activities. Chapter six deals with factors affecting teacher involvement in community development activities.

CHAPTER SIX

CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS IN THE MARIDI DISTRICT: IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ROLE.

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to analyse the primary school institution in terms of availability of its resources and the quality of its teachers who teach in them in relation to community development work they have been called upon to carry out through the medium of the schools in rural areas.

There are twenty primary schools in the sample under study and a population of 208 teachers. Suffice it to say that all the categories of teachers and types of schools discussed in chapter V are found in the district and among IREC teachers and schools. On record there were 30 primary schools in the district. However, for various reasons the number of schools that actually function at the time of fieldwork was only 20.

2. SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES AND PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION OF TEACHERS IN THE DISTRICT:

In terms of the field data the present teachers in the district are quite young as table 6.1 shows. The average age is 27.8 years. The peak age is between 25-30 years. 17.8 per cent of all teachers is younger than 25 years. Only 10.5 per cent are older than 40 years. In cumulative terms, 60.1 per cent of all teachers in the district are below 30 years or 76.1 per cent below the age of 35.

TABLE 6.1: DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY AGE

AGE CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
20 - 25	37	17.8%
25 - 30	88	42.3%
30 - 35	35	16.8%
35 - 40	26	12.5%
40 - 45	10	4.8%
45 - 50	6	2.9%
50 - 55	1	0.5%
Above 55	5	2.4%
TOTAL	N = 208	100.1%

The unreliable nature of young teachers as school teachers in rural areas has been noted by Bude (1982). The large proportion of young teachers represented in the district are characterized by inexperience, poor community relations and show no respect for the old generation in the villages. There have been reported cases of drunkardness, fights, school girls pregancies and imposition of fines on young teachers in the local courts for disorderly behaviour. The writer, actually witnessed one such case involving a school teacher, and a local girl. This should not be regarded as an isolated case, it is a widespread occurance in the district, as further evidence from the members of the rural community in the district will show in the subsequent chapters.

The difference between young and the old generation of teachers is that, the young are better paid than the old teachers who sadly to say, have been ignored in promotion schemes and often earn very low salaries and depend virtually on what they produce on their farms. Despite their grievances such missionary educated and trained teachers command high respect in their communities. Futhermore, most of them are strongly involved in local church leadership which ensures their high standing in the community.

Another apparent difference is that, in the colonial era entry age in elementary school was not spelt out as a requirement, unlike today.

Admittedly, those who went to school and subsequently became teachers were relatively above the present age for elementary school entry. They were therefore more mature at the time of completion of elementary school and teacher training colleges. This meant that they were sufficiently old to exercise some influence of their own in the community. Today, the average entry age to standard one has progressively dropped and students tend to graduate at an earlier age from training colleges. Indeed the current generation of teachers in the developing countries have been described as youthful in many respects.

Young teachers therefore would appear less suited to be trained for special community development work. The experience gained in Cameroon with the training of teacher-animateurs for reformed primary schools further points to the inability of young teachers to act as community teachers. Bude (1982) noted that young teachers prepared for this task were in fact more interested in higher salaries and status than in assignment to rural communities. Likewise in the district most young teachers interviewed during the fieldwork stated that they were either seeking for other jobs or studying privately to join univerisities. In a number of cases, according to the district education office, they resist any attempts to post them away from urban areas.

In terms of age, it would appear that any programme of rural development should be initiated within the context of older generation of teachers who are more mature, experienced, close to the community, and in association with locally established institutions such as the church or traditional associations within the community where members freely interact. Young teachers as it has been shown, are less inclined by virtue of their aspirations to interact meaningfully with members of the rural community.

Apart from age, sex of the teacher is also important. Our data shows that women are generally under represented in the teaching service in the

district, only 28 females or 13.5 per cent of the total teaching force in the district. On the other hand 25 or 89 per cent out of 28 females teach in the Maridi town with 3 or 11 per cent in remote rural areas. This confirms Bude's (1982) finding in Cameroon.

It is important to realize that women in Africa form the economic base of their respective families and as such, they as a group are an important target population not to be ignored in development efforts. The appropriate change agents for this target group is envisaged to be their female colleagues who are educated. Female teachers therefore have an important role to play in rural areas in penetrating this group.

But, Bude (1982) has noted that, however the teacher extension tasks were formulated within the framework of a community-oriented school, there are no suitable intermediaries who could initiate a dialogue with the important target group which the female population represents in the rural areas. Female teachers could hence, not be considered for assignment to remote rural areas since they are neither interested nor prepared to assume such tasks. Bude (1982) asserted that, teachers such as these who can hardly be counted on to discharge their normal duties because of their influential husbands in any case guarantee their status have every possibility of circumventing any additional tasks of community development.

However, it is equally important to point out that in most cases with traditional societies, it would still be difficult and problematic for female teachers to exercise influence through teaching or demonstration of modern methods of practices in agriculture, mother-child care and nutrition. Child-birth and such other important community issues are based on certain norms and attitudes associated with them in each society. The fact that female teachers may be considered young and passed through such traditional rituals may cause some degree of fear in them and conservatism on the part of their mothers. This too proves the contention that such practices are still good if society's children are to be brought up in accordance with the norms

of the society. One can only conclude by asserting that, unless a widespread change of attitude takes place there is little that female teachers in rural areas can do to introduce such changes among the traditional women folks.

Another social attribute factor which may influence teachers ability and attitude to effect change in the community is social origin. In Africa, a teachers tribe and the language he speaks are also important considerations particularly in selecting suitable teachers as community or village workers. The great missionary achievements in education and spread of christianity in many developing countires including southern Sudan were due to the recognition of ethnic differences at the initial stages of laying down the educational and christian foundations. Teacher recruitment and deployment were based on these considerations.

The teacher who shares the same cultural values with the community in which he teaches stands a better chance to identify with the daily routine and aspirations of the community since he is bound by the same norms. The teacher's general attitudes towards the community will to a greater extent determine his acceptability, level of involvement/interaction and hence his ability to exercise influence over the community members.

In the Sudan, after independence, as already noted in chapter one, the quest for national education and unity and the corresponding scarcity of educated manpower among different ethnic groups led the Sudanese government to repeal missionary education policy and practice. The government recruited and deployed teachers irrespective of their social origin. Hence in Maridi district, teachers came from at least seven different ethnic backgrounds namely, Zande, Mondo, Baka, Moru, Bari, Latuka, Acholi and Madi. Maridi district is composed of Mondo and Baka tribesmen.

Under such a policy of national integration and unification of education, teachers become aliens and could not easily identify themselves with the indigeneous peoples whose culture are different from their own. A teacher's

status is then insufficient to qualify him as an intermediary between the community and his expected new role of community worker.

3. TEACHER'S EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Table 6.2: DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY YEARS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN THE DISTRICT

AGE CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE RATIO
2 - 4	1	1.5%
4 - 6	21	10.1%
6 - 8	22	10.6%
8 - 10	41	19.6%
10 - 12	117	56.3%
12 - 14	5	2.4%
TOTAL	N = 208	100.00%

With one or two exceptations the majority of teachers in the district had between four to twelve years of general education. A striking similarlity occurs between age and school attendance. The 10.1 per cent corresponds to the first generation of teachers in the 40 and above bracket (10.5%) educated and trained during the missionary era. Though they are few and are under educated by todays standards, they have the experience and better training than their younger colleagues.

When tables 6.1 and 6.2 are cross-tabulated to actually show what has been indirectly infered, the relationships emerge very clearly. This is shown on summary table 6.3

Table 6.3: CROSS-TABULATION BETWEEN AGE OF TEACHERS AND YEARS SPENT IN GENERAL EDUCATION

	TEACHERS AGES		
	- 40 YEARS	40 YEARS +	TOTAL
GENERAL EDUCATION	186 (89.4%)	22 (10.6%)	208
6 YEARS +	185 (88.9%)	-	
6 YEARS -	1 (0.5%)	22 (10.6%)	
TOTAL	186	22	208

Prior to the 1969 education reform, the formal structure of education was 2 years village or subgrade, 4 years elementary divided into two, (2 years in subgrade school before transfering to a two year central elementary school); four years elementary school, four years intermediate and four years of secondary education. The current pattern follows a 6-3-3 year system with subgrades and elementary patterns merged in the primary system.

The data display the variability in teachers educational background in the district. This concurrs with the earlier discussion of teacher qualities in the southern Sudan as a whole. In terms of the present government policy as regards qualification for teachers recruitment in primary schools and following the 6-3-3 pattern, the table shows that 21.7 per cent of teachers are not eligible to occupy teaching posts in primary schools, since they have had 2-8 years of general education. The official policy recommends 9 years of general education. Hence only 78.3 per cent were qualified as primary school teachers.

The table also shows that 56.3 per cent, the large majority had been to secondary school and 2.4 per cent had been to post-secondary institutions. No

allowance have been made for possible repetition of classes. The remainder (19.6%) had completed intermediate schools.

The main question is, from which age group do those with secondary school background come from and where were they educated? First, secondary school graduates of earlier generation are either headmasters in the more affluent urban schools or have been appointed to administrative posts in the Ministry of Education or District Education Offices. Since few opportunities existed for them for further studies beyond secondary education, most graudates of this level were in great demand in other sectors of the economy after independence.

However, with improved education opportunities after 1972, (The Addis Ababa Peace Accord) which resulted in increasing influx of secondary school leavers and the diminishing employment opportunities in Government and private sectors, secondary school leavers have resorted to teaching in the recent years as a last resort. Hence, this large majority could not have come from the earlier generation of secondary school graduates, but the recent more youthful generation.

Secondly, the new educational ladder of 6-3-3, initiated in 1969, drew away teachers with secondary education to teach in Junior Secondary schools. Prior to this, many secondary school leavers were found teaching in the Intermediate (amalgamated upper primary and lower secondary classes) schools following the 4-4-4 system before the reform. Therefore the 56.3% of teachers who have a secondary school background come mostly from this new generation of secondary school graduates.

Lastly, it is possible to construe that a large majority of secondary school leavers serving as teachers were not educated in the Sudan. Prior to 1972 peace agreement there was only one secondary school in southern Sudan which ceased to function between 1965 and 1971, during the civil war. Assuming that primary schooling begins at age 6, these teachers could have completed their secondary education at age 18. Their possible periods of

birth would therefore be between 1956-1958. A period during which their education could have been disrupted by the civil war. The logical conclusion is that most of them could have been educated in Uganda or in the northern secondary schools.

In all 44.7 per cent of the teachers claimed to be trained; 55.3 per cent had not been trained. Of those trained, 17 per cent were women. Table 6.3 shows the length of training in years.

Table 6.4: DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY LENGTH OF TRAINING IN YEARS

YEARS	FREQUENCIES	PERCENTAGES
0 - 1	13	13.98%
1 - 2	43	46.24%
2 - 3	29	31.18%
3 - 4	7	7.53%
4 - 5	1	1.08%
TOTAL	93	100.01%

The majority of teachers have been trained for less than three years. Since the official government policy stipulates four years of training and three years of in-service training without drawing the candidates out of the classroom. There is reason to believe that this category of teachers could not have come from the present training programmes nor from the first generation of teachers trained during the missionary era (too few of them today) but probably from the concurrent teaching-training programme of In-service Education and Training Programme (ISEIT). As pointed out earlier in chapter V, the 4 year teacher training course does not produce trained teachers fast enough to account for the high percentage recorded here.

In the past (Missionary era) those students who had completed 6 years of primary education and were given 2 years of training to teach in primary

classes 1 to 4. But as already noted, the number of such teachers in the service has dropped drastically. Therefore could not be considered to constitute a significant boost of this percentage.

Table 6.5 shows training periods in years. The data further clarifies the assertion made by the author about the youthfulness of the teaching force in the southern Sudan.

Table 6.5: DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY PERIODS OF TRAINING

YEAR	FREQUENCIES	PERCENTAGES
1940 - 1945	1	1.00%
1945 - 1950	2	2.00%
1950 - 1955	3	3.00%
1955 - 1960	5	5.00%
1960 - 1965	7	7.00%
1965 - 1970	3	3.00%
1970 - 1975	10	10.00%
1975 - 1980	17	18.00%
1980 - 1985	45	48.00%
	N = 93	100.00%

The majority of teachers had been trained between 1970-1985. The peak training period was between 1980 and 1985. Clearly training appears to be a recent phenomenon. The old and the more experienced teachers have dwindled to a few. Most schools now appear to be staffed by young teachers with little experience but these have better education backgrounds. Only one-fifth of the teachers had been trained before 1970, one third between 1970 and 1980 and about half (48.4%) of the population received their training in the last 4 years (1980-1985).

Interestingly, the local teacher training institute at Maridi for Primary schools has not been functioning since 1981/82 scholastic year. While the ISETI programme located at the Curriculum Development Centre at Maridi has continued uninterrupted. The rational conclusion is therefore that those

trained during 1980-1985 were products of the inservice course or have been trained in Uganda rather than the pre-service training course offered in the Maridi institute.

The experience of teachers expressed in years is another factor to consider. Table 6.6 shows years of appointment of teachers in the district.

Table 6.6: YEARS OF APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS

YEAR OF APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS:

	1930-40	1940-50	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-85	TOTAL
NUMBERS	12	11	12	12	70	91	208
PERCENTAGES	5.7	5.2	5.7	5.7	33.5	43.7	100

The table shows that the teaching force is predominantly composed of those who were employed in the years after 1970. For example, 33.5 per cent of the teachers were appointed between 1970 and 1980, 43.7 per cent between 1980 and 1985.

Inservice training seems to play an important role in training teachers in the district particularly in 1984 and 1985. The inservice courses often lasting a few weeks appear to be the only real way that teachers' needs for training is met. Most of teachers had two weeks inservice courses between 1974 and 1985. Table 6.4 shows that 93 teachers were trained. But of the 115 untrained, 63 had attended one of these short inservice courses between 1974 and 1985.

Table 6.7: DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS BY LENGTHS OF INSERVICE COURES IN THE YEARS 1974 - 1985.

YEAR	freq.	2 WKS	3WKS	4WKS	5WKS	6WKS
1974	2					2
1977	1				1	
1983	3			1	2	
1984	45	39	1	5		
1985	12	11		1		
	63	50	1	7	3	2

SOURCE: FIELD DATA

It is interesting to note that between 1984 and 1985, 57 teachers (90% of 63) had attended these short courses. This is an indication that there was a great demand for trained teachers during this period. The credit however, goes to the voluntary church organization (ACROSS) "African Committee for the Rehabilitation of Southern Sudaan and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) who have been instrumental in organizing such courses. The role of the government was limited to provision of staff and training grounds.

It should be pointed out that due to lack of opportunities for further studies and training, and despite the fact that such short courses carry no financial benefits, most teachers have opted to attend them. The reason for such an option could only be attributed to the teachers' anxiety to improve their teaching skills.

In the district, there are no extra-mural facilities for further studies leading to higher academic qualificaations. But many teachers particularly the young ones study privately and enrol for the Sudan School Certificaate in a secondary school. The nearest secondary school is 69 miles away at Mundri. Bude (1982) pointed a similar situation in Cameroon and explained that even if the teacher remains in teaching service and does not intend to continue studying he can double his salary by passing these examinations. Unlike

Cameroon, in the southern Sudan, such examinations are used as qualifications for University entry.

The University of Juba offers facilities for mature students leading to degrees. Many young teachers have taken advantage of this; and many more are struggling to this end. But for those in the rural areas, no such examination opportunities exist. Their only chance of progress is through the promotion system.

Experience has also shown that promotion in the teaching occupation is slow. The criteria for promotion tend to be based on age and paper qualificaation. In southern Sudan, an accumilation of "Certificates of Attendance" from such short non examinable courses could eventually be used by teachers to seek promotion. For this reason, some teachers in the district, particularly the older ones, have attended up to 2 to 3 short courses between 1984 and 1985. It is claimed the certificates add to one's qualfications.

Evidence also shows that transfer of primary school teachers has been problematic. The available evidence suggests that over 65 per cent of teachers have not been transfered from their first school. The majority have served for at least 7-8 years, on the average, in the same school. The Maridi District Education Officer's report confirms this finding that

> 'there is no transfer policy in practice. Teachers who have been transfered 2 or 3 years ago have not been transported to their new schools.'
> (File No: MPRC/48: A.1.85).

The main cause of problem appears to be lack of funds and transport facilities. The office has no vehicle at its disposal nor funds for private truck hires.

In terms of government policy, the minimum period of stay in a school for a teacher is 3 years before a teacher can be transfered or seek transfer. The evidence will suggest that lack of adequate provisions of facilities can seriously undermine a government policy, breed antagonism among staff with

corresponding loss of morale. Nevertheless, it has been argued in some circles that rapid transfer of teachers or staff is unhealthy for the stability of an institution. But this argument does not apply to this particular Sudanese situation.

Most teachers in the district see transfer into rural areas as a form of punishment imposed upon them by the authorities in the district education offices. Therefore when not transfered on time they resent it intensely. Unwarranted long stay in the same school can lead to frustaration and loss of morale. It is equally apparent that much dissatisfaction emerge among teachers as a result of posting in the rural areas. In most cases posting to a rural school is seen by education authorities as a way of disciplining a troublesome teacher, who is posted to a remote rural area and then forgotten in terms of promotion, training and even salary increments. This case is fresh in the minds of most teachers, hence resent posting into the rural or struggle to get out of it as quickly as possible. Indeed, most teachers in the rural areas in the district seem to project such feelings or sentiments.

The distribution of schools between urban and rural areas including IREC schools show that 11 schools are located in and around Maridi township. This was a pattern established during the colonial days where a central mission station catered for a satelite of schools to ease transprot problems. To data Maridi has a population of 141,003 (1982, Census), of which 8,780 live in and around the town. Hence 9 schools cater for the greater majority of the population living in rural areas. The disparity in distribution of schools is clear from table 6.7.

The school distribution clearly favours the urban inhabitants. Not only because the government has more schools, but the tendency for church organizations to establish their own private schools alongside government schools in the urban area. Secondly, the great majority of schools refered to as 'refugee schools' in the rural areas (6) are established by United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) for Ugandan refugees. Officially then,

there are ten government schools, 4 church affiliated schools and 6 refugee schools.

In practical terms there are three government schools in the rural areas. Of the three government schools, only one (Bahr-wol, 14) is a full primary school Both Mgbulusai (18), and Naam (19) have both degenerated to sub-grade schools, due to lack of school buildings, classrooms and teachers. One would have expected that government concern for its citizens would be expressed in narrowing the gap between urban and rural distribution of schools and by maintaining rural schools destroyed during the civil war. FOr purely political reasons, it is wrong for the government to neglect a large proportion of its citizens. Educationally, it is a social injustice to the society when the government is expected to provide equal access and opportunity to education.

Table 6.8: LOCATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE DISTRICT

	SCHOOLS	NO. OF PUPILS	NO. OF TEACHERS	NO. OF CLASSES	LOCATION	OWNERSHIP
1	BAKINDO	500	10	10	TOWN	CATHOLIC
2	ITRI (IRECS) KK	400	10	6	"	GOVT.
3	MABILINDI	79	7	3	"	"
4	MALINGINDO	435	11	6	"	"
5	MARIDI I	200	12	10	"	"
6	MARIDI II	262	13	6	"	"
7	MARIDI GIRLS 104	10	12		"	"
8	HADDOW	151	8	2	"	PROTESTANT
9	MANGWA	130	7	6	"	GOVT.
10	UNITY	102	7	3	"	PROTESTANT
11	WAKOPOI	112	5	4	"	CATHOLIC
12	ANGUTUA	1,300	9	9	RURAL	REFUGEE +
13	AFFAF	834	112	10	"	" +
14	BAHR-WOL	178	7	6	"	GOVT.
15	DOROLILI	603	13	9	"	REFUGEE +
16	MAMBE	850	18	10	"	" +
17	MEKKE	1,142	23	6	"	" +
18	MGBULUSAI	59	4	2	"	GOVT.
19	NAAM	75	5	4	"	"
20	ZESI	650	17	12	"	REFUGEE +
		8,166	208	136		

NOTE:

Officially, there are 30 primary schools in the district. Ten schools have ceased to function. A number have also degenerated into sub-grade schools. For the purpose of this study, those schools which have degenerated (less than 6 classes) are included and refered to as sub-grade schools. There are 6 sub-grade schools.

Table 6.9: STAFFING RATIOS IN THE DISTRICT

INDICATORS	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL FOR DISTRICT
PUPIL/CLASS RATIO	1: 36.4	1 : 83.6	1 : 60
PUPIL/CLASS RATIO	1 : 24.8	1 : 52.7	1 : 39
TEACHER/CLASS RATIO	1 : 1.4	1 : 1.6	1 : 1.5

The staffing situation in urban schools appear significantly better than in rural schools. Urban classes are also less crowded than rural schools though there appears to be no significant difference between teacher/class ratios for rural and urban schools. Clearly this shows inferior conditions in rural areas. In view of the large class sizes in the rural schools, unqualified staff, the generally low educational levels and poor physical conditions prevailing in the majority of classrooms, some functioning under trees and if weather permits, it is indeed doubtful whether teachers can seriously accept or be attracted to the rhetoric of extended teacher role let alone implementing this concept.

Table 6.7, shows that a large majority of teachers in rural areas (51.9%) teach in one of the 6 refugee schools. These schools are by far larger than government schools and have on average about 14 teachers per school The rest of the schools in the rural areas have on average 2-3 teachers and classes.

Generally, apart from the urban and refugee schools, the farther away one moves from the urban areas, one finds smaller schools in terms of classes, and that the number of teachers decreases. Similarly, the educational level of teachers declines with distance from the urban centre. The chances of meetign older teachers of the first generation also increases with distance from the town.

Bude (1982) found a close relationship between the size of a school (measured by the number of classes) and the number and extent of requests for help from teachers. Bude argues that the greater the number of teachers employed at the school, the broader is the scope of the requests by the community members from the teachers. Our present finding concurrs with Bude, in that, the great majority of teachers who teach in and around Maridi town, receive fewer requests. This is perhaps due to the presence of institutions established in the township to deal with people's problems.

In the more remote rural areas, where schools are relatively smaller, fewer teachers and scattered populations teachers reported fewer requests. Nevertheless the refugee schools, centred among more enlightened Ugandan refugees, and large population, resulting in large schools in these refugee camps, teachers reported a number of cases for assistance. In respect to Maridi, fewer teachers appear to be of asset to the community possibly because teachers are poor and receive low and irregular salariess. Teachers' expression of their plight will be discussed in the next chapter which highlights some of the reasons why teachers are not helpful to their rural members of the community.

Finally, our field observation show that most teachers in rural schools teach near their own homes, live at home, own land and commute between their homes and schools every day. There is therefore a tendency to avoid travelling to school when the teacher is not engaged in early morning teaching (instead he cultivates in his farm). Extra curricula activities involving school children or the community is never on the teacher's daily agenda.

Indeed, it was a very common event during the fieldwork to find no headmasters or teachers in the schools particularly on holidays and week-ends. Schools tend to survive in isolation. Most schools operate half-day as teachers have to travel over long distances. In one particular school, Mgbulusai, the headmaster lives 8 kilometers away from school, two of his teachers live two kilometers. Headmasters and teachers seem to pay

more attention to improving their own homes, attending to their farms and other businesses than to the school.

IRECs is a development strategy which aims to exploit the mutual dependence of the school and the community in the interest of relevant education and quality of community life. One aspect of this integration is seen as, day schools serving as evening institutions, adult education centres, youth clubs, mother-child care clinics and provide discussion and demonstration grounds. In other words, the village life should revolve around the school and the teachers and around its social, cultural and educational activities. Obviously teachers emerge as the most important human resource in the scheme.

Hence effective communication between the headteachers and their staff on one hand and the community on the other should be at the centre of any attempt to develop community school integration. But such an integration, is often beset with social, cultural and economic problems, and underscored by political decisions and practices. In this context, the legal difficulties for effective integration have not been overcome because of lack of political and material support. Without some dispensation from the government which control the schools and which is expected to cater for its citizens, it would be impossible to achieve such an objective.

In summary, the finding presented here show that integration of teachers into the community without proper orientation, political support and measures to ensure their involvement in both the school and community activities may only serve to limit their involvement in community development activitites. In this respect, integration of teachers in Maridi district only serves their attempts to self-improvement through farming and other means, and neglect of community development tasks and school attendance.

4. QUALITY OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE DISTRICT

There were thirty officially registered primary schools in the district (Education Statistics 1984/85) with twenty in actual operation. Our data includes only those schools fully in operation or partially functioning. The discussion here includes IRCEs primary schools as well. There are eleven primary schools in and around Maridi Town of which seven are full (6 classes) primary schools and 4 subgrades. The remainder (9) range in distance from Maridi from 5 to 51 miles. There are equally seven full primary schools and two sub-grades in the rural areas. The three IRECs pilot schools are all located within the town except the official IRECs located 18 miles away from Maridi at Bahr-naam. Of the 3 IRECs schools one is a subgrade.

In the last three years at least, two full primary schools in and around Maridi township have reduced their classes to mere 3 from 6. Table 6.7 shows that Mabilindi and Unity primary schools are cases in point. Wakopoi with 4 classes was still at a stage of development established four years ago by the Roman Catholic Church Education Department which also owns Bakindo, the largest well administered non-government and non Refugee school.

In the extreme rural area, 45 miles away from Maridi, and located in an isolated rural location, is another example of a generated primary school. The example cited here is representative of most primary schools in the district including the three IRECs pilot schools which were affected by the civil war. Naam was once a highly respected school, permanently built with stone and corrugated iron sheeting. Today, it stands as yet another failure of the government to rehabilitate destroyed rural schools.

Naam was initially a boarding school which catered for 240 students but in the last few years and particularly in 1984/85, it served a mere 75 day pupils. It has been turned into a day school, hence depriving children from distant areas form attending school. The headmaster reported that the school like many others in the district, has not been repaired or maintained since 1972 when peace was restored. The school stands in the midst of tall

elephant grass, without roof-tops, windows, doors and furniture.

Furniture for both staff and classrooms were not available during our visit. Accommodation for staff was limited. The four teachers shared one large dilapidated building which in the past was the official residence of the headmaster. The headmaster who hails from the area lived 3 miles away in his private home. It was here that the interview took place and where school files and other documents were kept due to lack of offices and lockable cabins.

Generally, however, there is great risk for more primary schools in the district to degenerate into low grade schools if no prompt action by the district authorities is taken. According to the Provincial Act Part III, primary schools are the direct responsibility of the District authorities. It ought to be pointed out that the district of Maridi, neither has enough resources nor the means to raise sufficient revenues from the local taxes to launch expensive reconstruction schemes. One suggestion is to rehabilitate such schools by the Regional Ministry of Education, and hand them over to the district authority.

Nevertheless, government concern for rural primary schools should be seen in action-oriented policy. For instance the department of reconstruction established in the Ministry in 1983 is an appropriate step-forward in the rehabilitation of such schools. It is pathetic to note that the department has confined its activities so far in rehabilitating urban secondary schools. with the present civil war waging in the southern Sudan, it is doubtful whether the department will ever extend its services to the rural areas. The situation clearly points to more schools degenerating unless the civil war stops and the Regional government embarks on a massive reconstruction of rural schools, though this will prove to be a very expensive scheme. A more likely solution is to build low cost schools with community assistance.

The primary reason given for degeneration of schools was the lack of trained teachers. The local teacher training institute based at Maridi was

closed in 1982. Even then, the emphasis was on training Arabic teachers while there were only 3 Arabic pattern schools in the district and 17 English pattern schools. It is interesting that the institute was established to train teachers for Arabic subjects only. There is no teacher training institute for English subjects in the district and for that matter the whole southern Sudan.

Arabic pattern schools appear better equipped than the English medium schools. Indeed some schools had ceased to function or do so partially due to lack of English teachers. The District Technical Inspector for Primary Education (DTIPE) stated that English teachers were last employed in 1978/79 period. In the light of the evidence provided here, it will seem that central government educational policies are at variance with the aspirations of the people of the southern Sudan. The unification of education started 1955 at the dawn of independence by the national Government and hitherto pursued by the successive northern Arab governments only tend to impede educational progress in the south, destroy its cultural heritage by introducing Arabic language in schools and by Islamization of the masses. In all its varied dimensions, disruption of schools in the south is a weapon being used by the Northern Sudanese to keep the southerners at subordinate positions. There is indeed a need for urgent research into the Sudanese education policies for the north and the south particularly in the provision of schools and teacher training programmes.

The general report of the District Education Officer of Maridi People's Rural Council (File No: 48.A.1. date 6.3.85) asserted that:

> 'This rural council is facing an acute shortage of English teachers for smooth running of English pattern schools and most schools in this People's Council are English pattern schools. If possible secondary school leavers should be employed to overcome this difficult situation.'

The employment of untrained secondary school leavers evidently has its own repercusions but the main aim or politics behind the scheme was to keep English pattern schools alive as most parents see the future of their children through English pattern schools, rather than Arabic schools. Most parents resent Arabic teachers as these are seen as collaborators in policies which seem to give only second class citizenship to southerners in their own land. The values, habits and customs portrayed through Arabic schools, often cast a great doubt in the minds of the parents whether these schools are not being used as political weapons against their own cultural heritage. In comparative terms English pattern schools are still regarded more superior to Arabic ones.

English language has for a long time served the south as the official government language, used in offices, in schools and a prerequisite of acquisition of jobs in the modern economic sector. Therefore:

> 'the choice of English as the principal language of the south, at the signing of the Addis Ababa Accord was in consideration of the fact that our background in english is stronger than in any other language including Arabic. (The People's Regional Assembly. 13/6/1974).

The national system of education emphasized Arabic with the ultimate aim of it taking over from English as the principal language of the region. One member of the defunct Regional Assembly (1974) categorically stated that 'to make Arabic as a principal language of the region is a conclusion where we do not have the sense of direction and destiny as a people'. Arabic has not been received amicably by the southern people, particularly those living in rural areas, who associated it with past, bitter experiences such a slave trade and the atrocities caused by Arab troops during the first civil war.

Table 6.9 shows schools by types of building materials and quality. For the purpose of this study, types of building materials have been categorized as follows: permanent, semi-permanent, local materials, and none.

'Permanent' is defined as built of stone, red brick with cement, tiles or corrugated iron sheetings. 'Semi-permanent' is defined as built of local materials, but strengthened with cement or other manufactured materials such as iron roofing. 'Locally built' is defined as built entirely of local mateirals with local design and skills (mud, grass). 'None' is functioning under trees or use of churches.

Apart from the newly constructed refugee schools, all schools in the district were built during or after colonial era. One of the main problems in the southern Sudan is the total lack of building materials. None of the schools reported here has been repaired in the past thirteen years since the return of peace in 1972. Prior to 1972, the civil war forced all these schools to be abandoned save those in urban areas. Development was halted and the economic and social advancement of the region was severely retarded. Many of these schools were taken over and used as military barracks.

Most of the schools abandoned or taken over by the army during the hostilities (Gardner, 1977: 9-10) had lost all their furniture, windows, doors and roofs. Most of them still bear the scars of the civil war.

Table 6.9: SCHOOLS BY TYPES OF BUILDING MATERIALS

	SCHOOLS	PERMANENT	SEMI-PERMANENT	NO BUILDING OR TEMPORARY	QUALITY
1	BAKINDO	1			GOOD
2	ITRI (IREC)	1			POOR
3	MABILINDI (IREC)		1		POOR
4	MALINGINDO	1			POOR
5	MARIDI I	1			POOR
6	MARIDI II (IREC)	1			POOR
7	MARIDI GIRLS	1			POOR
8	HADDOW			1	POOR
9	MANGUA		1		POOR
10	UNITY			1	POOR
11	WAKOPOI			1	POOR
12	ANGUTUA	1*			GOOD
13	AFFAF	1*			GOOD
14	BAHRWOL	1			GOOD
15	DOROLILI	1*			GOOD
16	MAMBE	1*			GOOD
17	MEKKE	1*			GOOD
18	MGBURUSAI			1	GOOD
19	NAAM	1			POOR
20	ZESI (IREC)	1*			GOOD
21	BAHAR NAAN (IREC)	1*			GOOD

* Refugee schools, constructed by the VNHER.

NOTE: Bahr el Naam is the only IREC officially operating. The rest were pilot schools which no longer operate as IRECs.

The schools listed under 'permanent' are in great need of repair. Their qualification for being classified as permanent is due to the solid walls they have. Most school buildings, classrooms, teachers accommodation particularly the Government and self-help schools appear dilapidated. The above cited report (file: No. 48.A.1.6/3/85) stated that:

> 'Most of the school buildings in the rural areas are already out of use and they need new buildings for classrooms. Most of the teaching in the rural areas is taking place under trees in small chapels and the teachers have to build huts (tukuls) for themselves'.

Nothing could be better than provision of accommodation for teachers, lockable classrooms, with window shutters, classroom and office furniture in enhancing teachers' satisfaction and morale for the occupation. Teachers in the district also face financial problems. The salary scales have not been unified for all the teachers as an occupation group. Secondly salaries are low and payments are irregular. In the district 178 teachers receive salaries and 30 voluntary teachers receive assistances either in cash or kind. It was difficult to calculate these and convert them into current prices.

Table 6.1ϕ TEACHERS' SALARY IN SUDANESE POUNDS

SALARY IN POUNDS	FREQUENCIES	PERCENTAGE
30 - 35	6	3.4%
35 - 40	8	4.5%
40 - 45	10	5.6%
45 - 50	9	5.0%
50 - 55	9	5.0%
55 - 60	58	32.6%
60 - 65	10	5.6%
65 - 70	5	2.8%
70 - 75	34	19.1%
75 - 80	8	4.5%
Over 80	21	11.8%
	N = 118	99.9%

On average teachers receive about sixty-eight Sudanese pounds per month, hardly sufficient to make a decent living out of it. It is not suprising that most teachers supplement their meagre salaries by carrying out such activities as cultivation and trading which occupies much of their time. Only 32.6 per cent receive salaries between 55-60 Sudanese pounds, 34 per cent 70-75 and 11.8 per cent over eighty pounds a month. Considering that current

inflation rate is about 300 per cent, it will be expected that teachers face difficult tasks of making ends meet.

Worse still, teachers face gross irregularities in payment of salaries. On average teachers in the district have not received their salaries for 6-8 months since 1982, hence accumulating high salary arrears. The District Education office report (File 48.A.1. 6/3/85) had this to say.

> 'Schools are not functioning as they should due to the fact that teachers are not receiving their salaries regularly. The delay of the salary had made the teachers not do their work efficiently especially in the rural areas'.

The conditions described so far in this chapter accord with what some researchers have pointed to in other countries. The critics of an 'extended teacher role' argue that the constraints on teachers are numerous and not confined to the problem of finance but relate more widely to include inadequate education and training of teachers and existing limits in administrative capacity of the rural primary schools. Teachers, they observed are for most times had to do with inadequate resource materials such as standard classrooms, offices and office furniture, teaching aids and other problems pertaining to teachers' conditions of service in the rural environment.

Watson (1982) asserted that teachers in the rural primary schools suffer from basically three broad constraints, physical, political and psychological which reduce their potential in improving rural conditions. He emphasised that it is with the school that teachers involvement needs to be improved and extended. He went on to say that, 'if taken seriously, this extension of the teacher's role will only deflect teachers from their core tasks'. However, in almost all developing countries, rapid changes have taken place which have not been appropriately matched with changes in schools and in rural areas. The result has been social and economic breakdown in the

teaching occupation with its attendant psychological effects exemplified in the low morale and lack of committment among teachers.

Dove (1982, 79) aptly observed that, 'at least until recently, the educational quality of teachers at the elementary level has declined and conditions of services and salaries have been relatively poor, which have direct influence on the teachers' attitude towards their work and the community among whom they work.

Ryburn (1946) pointed out that the result of poor pay or irregular payment of salary, is that in the villages the many problems which could be tackled by teachers with a better cultural and economic backgrounds are not being tackled. He observed that teachers for the most times are concerned mainly with argumenting their pittance in other ways besides their regular teaching duties. Garvey-Williams (1976) pointed out a similar case in the southern Sudan, where absenteeism tends to be high and classes are often left for considerable periods without a teacher and with little or no supervision because teachers are attending to their own businesses or presenting complaints at the headquarters.

In general teachers in the Maridi District, suffer from social, economic and psychological problems not to mention the widespread lack of school materials, books, equipment and accommodation. In order to assess the role of teachers in community development activities, a comparative study of IRECs project teachers and teachers in the traditional primary schools have been included. It is to this, analysis that we now turn.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FACTORS AFFECTING TEACHER INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the analysis of the primary schools in terms of availability of resources, and the quality of teachers in respect to school and college curriculum was made. In this chapter we attempt to analyse the influence of various school factors on teacher involvement in community development tasks. The chapter is based on interviews with 10 project teachers and 46 teachers randomly selected from a population of 198 teachers in the district.

Initially twenty-one primary school teachers were recruited and trained for IRECs project. But during the field work, only ten were available in the district for two main reasons. First, the 1983 reorganization of the southern Sudan administrative units along ethnic lines forced some (4) IREC teachers to leave the district. Two teachers joined the University of Juba as mature students, one female teacher left and became a member of the now defunct Regional Assembly and the remainder (4) could not be accounted for.

It was difficult at the time to trace all the missing teachers due to the lack of funds but more seriously, the political instability caused by rebel movement fighting for the liberation of southern Sudan made travelling from one district or province to another a risky endeavour. The effect of the redivision of the south, and the civil war on IREC project has been enormous. The civil war has caused communication problems, in that essential materials and equipments for the project have remained stockpiled in Juba. A more detailed analysis of the effects of the civil war will be undertaken in the concluding chapter.

Apart from social attribute factors discussed in the previous chapter, other factors within the education environment in the district are believed to

influence teachers ability and attitudes to effect change in the rural community. Such factors include, level of education, length of service in the present school, teaching load and other school administration responsibilities. Equally important are teachers perception of their role, and the degree of satisfaction, and morale they have.

The level of educational background of the two categories of teachers in the district gave the impression that IREC teachers were a select group with better educational background than the 'other teachers'. The data show that half of the IREC teachers and just over two-fifths of 'other teachers' had attended secondary schools. By government policy those who did not complete nine years of schooling were not eligible to teach either in IREC or traditional primary schools, as stated earlier.

When asked to state why they had not proceeded to secondary schools, 6 (24%) of 'other teachers' and 5 (50%) IREC gave the 17 year civil war as the reason, 4 (15%) of 'other teachers' stated the lose of father or guardian, 19 percent said they were withdrawn from school by parents or relatives for help at home, 27 percent due to lack of school fees, and 15 percent dropped out for other reasons. Clearly teachers who come from poor socio-economic backgrounds and who failed to improve their social status through education and who by all standards could not be employed elsewhere except opt for lowest grade of job in rural areas as teachers, cannot be relied upon as effective men and women of change, let alone improving their own lot. Such men and women became teachers for the sole purpose of earning a living rather than being propagators of rural development nor could they be engaged effectively as agents of change for reasons given in the previous chapters.

Table 7.1 shows a large proportion of teachers in both categories with little teaching experience. This means that they would need more time and concentration on their core roles, in order to gain the experience which ultimately guarantees their position and status as teachers anyway. A teacher's status is to a large extent still measured in terms of the number of

pupils who pass through his hands into secondary schools. Parents expect the teacher to perform this role well, and a teacher who conforms to this demand, gains status than one who engages in out-door activities and fewer of his pupils pass in their final examinations.

TABLE 7.1 LENGTH OF SERVICE OF TEACHERS

YEAR CATEGORIES	IREC TEACHERS	OTHER TEACHERS
1 - 5	3	(11)
5 - 10	3	(15)
10 - 15	4	(9)
15 - 20	-	(3)
20 - 25	-	(4)
25 - 30	-	(3)
30 - 35	-	(1)
TOTAL	N = 10	(N = 46)

Approximately one-third of IRECs and one-fifth of other teachers' have teaching experience of less than five years. On the whole, IREC teachers appear to be less experienced than their other colleagues in the traditional primary schools. The average stay per school for IREC teachers was only 3.7 years and 8.1 years for 'other teachers'.

Table 7.2 shows the number of schools teachers have taught in since employment. It appears that rapid transfer of teachers has been the norm in the past. Indeed Gardner (1977) and Kinunda (1981) reported rapid teacher turnover.

TABLE 7.2: NUMBER OF SCHOOLS TEACHERS HAVE TAUGHT IN SINCE EMPLOYMENT

NO. OF SCHOOLS	IREC	OTHER TEACHERS
1 - 5	(9)	(31)
5 - 10	(1)	(8)
10 - 15		(5)
15 - 20		(2)
TOTAL	N = 10	N = 46

In the more recent years and with the widespread economic breakdown, resulting in transport problems in the district transfer of teachers has not been effected (File No. 18: A. 1-6.3.85). The implications of rapid transfer of teachers has been discussed elsewhere in the thesis. Nevertheless, the tendency now appears for teachers to stay longer in their present schools.

Table 7.3 on the other hand shows that 19 teachers or two-fifth of the 'other teachers' have spent between one to five years in the schools they are currently teaching in. 17 or just over one third, between five and ten years and 10 or one-fifth between ten and twenty years. IRECs, 7 teachers (70%) are still in their 1-5 schools and 3 (30%) between five to ten.

TABLE 7.3: LENGTH OF SERVICE IN THE PRESENT SCHOOL

YEARS	IRECs TEACHERS	OTHER TEACHERS
1 - 5	70% (7)	41% (19)
5 - 10	30% (3)	36% (17)
10 - 15	-	17% (8)
15 - 20	-	4% (2)
7 - 20	-	-
TOTAL	% = 100%:N = 10	% = 100%:N = 46

Though teachers appear to stay longer in their present schools today than in the past, their stay does not seem to reflect any association between length of stay and influence in the community. Teachers in both samples were asked to state whether they were willing to have frequent transfers. They were unanimously against rapid transfers. A striking similarlity also emerged when they were asked to give reasons. All seem to express personal problems rather than school matters. Some examples of responses are listed in Table 7.4.

The reasons given do reflect the extent to which teachers are concerned with personal matters such as family farms, families, education of their children and problems of finding land for cultivation should they be transfered rapidly. It also reflects the poor conditions of service of teachers in primary schools.

TABLE 7.4: REASONS FOR REJECTING RAPID TRANSFERS BY TEACHERS IN THE DISTRICT

TYPES OF RESPONSES	OTHER TEACHERS	IRECs
1. I have personal projects I would like to accomplish. Such as Coffee farm	(12)	(4)
2. I would like to do some work for myself since our salaries are not regular	(8)	(5)
3. It takes time to find land for cultivation	(3)	(1)
4. It takes time to know the right people and establish good relations with them	(3)	(2)
5. Transport is a problem. It is better to stay in one place.	(4)	(1)
6. It will disrupt education of my children	(1)	(3)
7. My parents are too old. I need to be near them.	(1)	(1)

N for IREC Teachers = 10 N for Other Teachers = 46

2. TEACHER TRAINING, PRACTICAL SUBJECTS AND OTHER SCHOOL RESPONSIBLITIES:

Of the 46 teachers included in the sample, 31 in the traditional primary schools claimed to have had some training of some kind while 15 had not attended any training at all. Five of the 10 IREC teachers had attained professional training. All IREC teachers had attended IREC orientation courses at various times during the implementation period.

For those trained, they were asked to specify 'what they were specifically trained to do'. Teachers in the traditional primary schools had not been trained to work as IREC or Community teachers. The majority however, stated that they had had courses in rural education, home economics, arts and crafts. But these courses offered in the teacher training colleges were taught as theory. They were lacking in any experience relating to the practical skills.

As regards IREC teachers, all ten stated they were trained to perform a vareity of rural development tasks such as agriculture, health education, methods of extension work, running cooperative unions, workshops practices. Asked 'what practical activities did you do while on training'. They claimed to have done the following: preparation of teaching aids, demonstration in agriculture, poultry, preventive medicine, first aid skills, cookery, knitting, dress-making and baskset-making. However, both the school curriculum and the pre-eminence of examination appear to be major controlling factors in determining the nature of subjects taught and emphasis put on them. These two factors have their impacts on the two groups of teachers by concentrating teaching on academic oriented subjects rather than practical or vocational subjects.

The teaching load appears to be very low. In policy terms, the teachers are expected to teach 30 periods per week (Gardner, 1977: 39). The 46 teachers interviewed in fact taught an average of 20-22 periods. In the case of IRECs, it is even much lower, 17.4 lessons per week. The low teaching

load would imply that teachers have ample time for community development work, but the time is not used for such activity, as later chapters will show.

However, when both groups were asked to indicate some of the activities they engage in during their leisure or free times, the tendency is towards self-improvement by cultivation, hunting, attending to businesses or undertaking private studies. Only a very small proportion of (2) IREC teachers and (5) of the other teachers claimed any engagement in such activities as sports, school gardening, or clubs.

The main reasons given for lack of participation in extra-curricula activities is often lack of facilities and equipment. While lack of salaries have the response of forcing them to devote much of their time on fending for themselves through cultivation, during the rainy season and hunting, and fishing during the dry seasons.

Despite the reasons given by the teachers themselves the writer believes that teachers in the district are generally dissatisfied not only with the occupation, but the general lack of attention from the government to their problems. Apathy among teachers is widespread and manifests itself in such slogans as 'no pay no teaching'. In terms of the objectives of this study and IREC project, the activities in which teachers engage in the district are in direct contrast to the expected leadership and change agent roles for community work.

How do IREC and other teachers teach practical aspects of IRECs and general school syllabuses? The aim of the government (Chapter II) was to introduce practical subjects in primary schools. This would involve a great deal of out-of-class work during which children would be allowed to practice crop production, gardening, animal husbandry, poultry-keeping and different local crafts (Major Trends in Education, 1975, p.5-6). This new policy was intended to 'acquaint children with some manual skills, help them learn by doing and discover concepts and principles by observation, experimentation and problem solving skills. Therefore some form of independent learning

opportunity to allow children to develop their personal abilities to work with minimum of personal initiative and assistance from the teacher. All these seem to be part of the general aims of the new educational policy of the government.

It would therefore be expected that 'how children learn these practical subjects would to a great extent be reflected in how teachers teach them. The critical role which text-books play in primary schools in the Sudan has been noted in Chapter V and as were the didactic methods of teaching will all seem inappropriate to teaching of practical subjects and to the development of creative thinking, initiative and problem solving abilities. Practical subjects, by their very nature require active involvement on the part of the students and less teacher domination.

One indication of how practical subjects are taught is the extent to which teachers use such activity oriented methods as study visits, demonstration, simulation and class discussion. It is assumed that lecturing or talk and chalk methods are inappropriate if students are expected to participate actively in learning practical skills. It has been noted (Kinunda, 1981, Gardner, 1977 and Ngalamu, 1979) that learning of the subject matter depended largely on memorization of facts without involving pupils in classroom activities. It has equally been noted that the time allocated for practical work often received much less attention. The fact that practical subjects are not examined in the final examinations further reduces the emphasis to be placed on them and therefore reduces their utility value relative to examinable academic subjects. One is therefore led to conclude and this is verifiable by our finding (table 7.5) that most of the lessons taught at any time in practical subjects are quite theoretical.

Practical subjects in the south Sudan case as expressed in the school syllabus are limited to rural education ie., agriculture, cookery, art and crafts, knitting and making baskets. Industrial education is not included as

authorities do not see industrial development as a possibility in the near future in south Sudan.

In the southern Sudanese case it is difficult to commend the effectiveness of teachers in teaching of practical subjects since such practical subjects are not really implemented in these schools. Hence table 7.5 is an attempt to determine if anything how pragmatic rural primary school teachers are.

TABLE 7.5: TEACHERS' USE OF DIDACTIC AND ACTIVITY ORIENTED METHODS OF TEACHING:

'How often did you use chalk/talk and activity oriented approaches to teaching last academic year?'
Responses from IREC and non-IREC teachers.

RESPONSE OPTIONS	MOST OFTEN	OFTEN	NEVER	
TALK AND CHALK	(6)	(4)	-	N = 10
IREC	60%	40%	-	% = 100%
OTHERS	30	16	-	N = 46
	65%	30%	-	% = 100%
CLASS DISCUSSION	(2)	(3)	5	N = 10
IREC	20%	30%	50%	% = 100%
OTHERS	5	15	26	N = 46
	10%	32%	56%	% = 100%
PROJECT APPROACH			10	N = 10
IREC			100%	% = 100%
OTHERS	-	-	46	N = 46
			100%	% = 100%

RESPONSE OPTIONS	MOST OFTEN	OFTEN	NEVER	
DEMONSTRATION ON CROP PRODUCTION	-	(4)	10	N = 10
IREC	-	40%	60%	% = 100%
OTHERS	-	-	(46)	N = 46
	-	-	100%	% = 100%
STUDY VISITS	-	-	N=(10)	10 N = 10
IREC	-	-	100%	% = 100%
OTHERS	-	-	N=(46)	N = 46
	-	-	100%	% = 100%

Most IREC teachers claimed that they had at various times during the project execution taught some aspects of the practical IREC syllabus but that they had all stopped practical activities in all IREC schools at the time of the fieldwork. They have all reverted to the traditional methods. It would therefore appear that teachers (IREC) found many problems with teaching of practical aspects of the new syllabus.

The traditional methods of teaching 'talk and chalk' and 'class discussion' appear to dominate among the two categories of teachers. However, on further probing it was clear that 'class discussion' meant to most teachers asking pupils questions rather than discussing issues in the forms of debates and informal group discussion. Other activities such as demonstration, project activites and study visits were non-existent.

Practical activities are probably not perceived to be important aspects of a teacher's role since they are not examinable and do not qualify students to enter post primary institutions. Another reason teachers gave was that children in primary schools are too young to engage in such manual activities. Given the overall low ratings recorded, one can confidentally assume that practical activities and sophisticated teaching methods, are not frequent events in rural primary schools.

Teachers were asked to state what difficulties they find in teaching of practical activities. Table 7.6 shows the actual question asked.

TABLE 7.6

'What difficulties do you as a teacher experience in teaching practical activities or envisage?'

The type of responses received on the open-ended question show many factors within the school environment which affect teachers' ability in teaching practical skills. Since these problems were mentioned by the teachers themselves there is reason to believe that they are general problems among teachers.

TYPES OF RESPONSES	IREC	OTHERS
Low standard of pupils.	30%	19%
Lack of materials, equipment & books.	40%	34%
Not provided in the syllabus.	20%	32%
No permission from the headmaster.	10%	15%
Children too young to work.	30%	6%
Teachers are overworked.	20%	8%
Teachers not properly trained.	50%	21%
Lack of Funds.	40%	15%
Lack of Transport.	60%	4%
Parents will not accept it.	40%	6%
N =	10	46

3 TEACHER SATISFACTION AND MORALE

It is assumed that teachers' conditions of service and the resources available in the rural primary schools would influence their morale and satisfaction and in turn their attitudes towards community development tasks and the extent of their involvement in these extra duties.

TABLE 7.7

'How satisfied are you with being a primary school teacher in the rural area?' Responses from IREC and other teachers.

RESPONSE OPTION	IRECs	OTHER TEACHERS
Very satisfied	10% (1)	11% (5)
Satisfied	20% (2)	15% (7)
Dissatisfied	40% (4)	35% (16)
Very Dissatisfied	30% (3)	39% (18)
TOTAL	100%:N = 10	100%:N = 46

It is not unusual for a person to be dissatisfied with his job and yet continue to serve in it due to personal inability to find a more rewarding occupation and the insecurity between resignation and finding another job particularly for those who are married and have children. This is even more serious in a country where jobs are very scarce. One teacher expressed concern and yet appeared committed when asked "whether he is satisfied or not". The teacher said:

> Yes, but only that there are many problems which we face. We in the service now don't mind. But in future young people will be too scared to join teaching.

Teachers were also asked to give reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Reasons for satisfaction include, 'love for children; love for the profession; it is the only available work I can do; develop the youth of our area and because it is the career I chose'. Dissatisfaction among teachers arose as a result of lack of training, no promotion, low and irrigular salaries, lack of equipment and materials in schools, poor conditions of service, lack of

care from authorities and finally lack of respect for teachers from the community.

It is clear from table 7.7 that there is widespread dissatisfaction among the two samples. One would have expected to find IRECs teachers to be more satisfied than the teachers in the traditional primary schools because of their special status as 'project teachers'. But this is not the case. This is unexpected since IRECs is a joint World Bank and Sudan Government project.

Commonality of problems encountered by teachers in both samples in their respective schools is clear from table 7.8. Teachers in the two samples were asked this open-ended question:

TABLE 7.8

'What problems do you as a teacher in this school see as the most serious?'

Responses from IRECs & Other Teachers	IRECs	OTHER TEACHERS
1. Lack of books and teaching aids.	30% (3)	43% (21)
2. Lack of desks (furniture).	20% (2)	33% (15)
3. Lack of trained teachers.	60% (6)	33% (15)
4. Low and irregular pay.	50% (5)	20% (9)
5. Lack of stationery (chalk etc)	-	20% (9)
6. Lack of accommodation for teachers	40% (4)	18% (8)
7. Lack of maintance of school buildings	50% (5)	15% (7)
8. Lack of classrooms	-	15% (7)
9. Lack of facilities for sports.	-	11% (5)
10. Lack of water in the school	-	8% (4)
11. Lack of teachers' office	-	8% (4)
12. Lack and delay of syllabus	-	8% (4)
13. Language problem.	30% (3)	4% (2)
14. Lack of teacher-parent cooperation	60% (6)	2% (1)
15. Overcrowded classroom	-	2% (1)
16. Lack of funds.	50% (5)	2% (1)
17. Lack of health service.	-	2% (1)
18. No promotion.	40% (4)	20% ( )
TOTAL	% = N = 10%	N = 46

It is appropriate at this point to give some examples of teachers' expressions of their own problems commonly faced in most schools. One IRECs teacher has this to say:

> All our schools are not running smoothly because of lack of facilities and equipment. The education authorities do not look into problems of teachers. Inspectors have never visited this school. I have been here for 8 years but not a single day have we had an inspector here to solve some of our problems and encourage us to implement IRECs project.

In some cases, one meets a teacher who is dissatisfied for personal and school problems, as expressed by one teacher from the conventional school.

> I am not happy with teaching now, because I have been cheated. Those teachers who came after me are getting more salaries, I have not been given chance to attend in service courses which is the only way I can get my salary raised and be promoted. Our school is poor, without all the necessary equipment and materials, no classrooms, offices, teachers' houses. You see all those staff houses (huts) each teacher built his own.

In view of the widespread problems in schools, teachers were asked another supplementary open-ended question.

TABLE 7.9

'If you could start your life all over again, what occupation would you most like to have? Categorized responses from 'IRECs' and 'other teachers'.

OCCUPATION TYPES	IRECs TEACHERS	OTHER TEACHERS
Agricultural Officer	50% (5)	14% (7)
Teacher	20% (2)	18% (8)
Doctor	- -	18% (8)
Nurse	- -	8 % (4)
Typist	- -	6% (3)
Medical Assistant	- -	6% (3)
Administrator	10% (1)	6% (3)
Lawyer	10% (1)	8% (4)
Pilot	- -	2% (1)
Driver	- -	2% (1)
Army Officer	- -	2% (1)
Trader	- -	2% (1)
Engineer	10% (1)	2% (1)
Clerk	- -	2% (1)
TOTAL	%=100% N=10	%=100% N=46

By this measure, most teachers are more willing to choose other occupations than teaching. Only 20% and 18% of IRECs and 'Other Teachers' said they would still select teaching. There is reason to believe that most teachers are not firmly committed to teaching occupation and would leave if other career opportunities were readily available. Both groups were asked 'Do you think that you will be teaching in ten years time?' Responses from IRECs and other teachers tabulated in Table 7.10 by age.

TABLE 7.10

'Do you think you will be teaching in ten years time?'

	IREC TEACHERS			OTHER TEACHERS		
	AGES			AGES		
	20-30	30-40	Above 40	20-30	30-40	Above 40
Yes, certainly	(4)	-	-	(7)	(2)	(2)
Yes, likely	-	(2)	-	(11)	(3)	(2)
No, unlikely	(3)	-	-	(12)	-	-
No, certainly not	-	-	(1)	(6)	-	-
TOTAL	(7) +	(2) + :N=10	(1)	36	5 N=46	5

An overwhelming majority of IRECs and other teachers expect to stay in teaching. Of these a relatively sizeable number are between the ages of 20-30 years. The most reasonable explanation could be that, they lack alternative more rewarding job opportunities. It could also be that, this is the response they think would please education officials higher up, noting the widespread dissatisfaction among teachers in the district.

4. TEACHER PERCEPTION OF THEIR ROLE

The two samples of IRECs teachers and other teachers were asked to express their personal views about their role. They were informed that people have different views about the role of teachers. Some think that teachers should concentrate on classroom work. Others think that teachers should help in community development work among the rural communities they find themselves. 'What do you as teachers think?'

TABLE 7.11 shows the views expressed by teachers themselves.

	TEACHERS	
	IRECs	OTHERS
1. Will do community development work work if given proper training.	40% (4)	28% (14)
2. Will on condition that the authorities responsible improve our conditions of service.	10% (1)	24% (12)
3. Doubt whether parents will accept teachers to do community work.	20% (2)	15% (7)
4. Most teachers don't have the skills and knowledge.	30% (3)	15% (7)
5. Schools too poor and lack much of the materials and equipment for practical work in the community.	50% (5)	11% (5)
6. Teachers too busy fending for themselves (	20% (2)	4% (2)

On the whole teachers sound agreeable but on condition that certain preconditions are met as expressed by them in table 7.11. It does however, seem that they do have a wider perception of their role, or their perception could be improved if these conditions are met and if members of the community see their role beyond the classroom function.

The tendency for teachers to be cautious in their response is apparent. It is common practice for parents to look to education as means of acquiring jobs for their children. In most cases parent have been disappointed. The school and the teachers have been held to blame for the failure of employment opportunities to keep pace with the credentialling capacity of the school

system (Dore, 1979). Teachers on the other hand are blamed for not having done their work well.

Teachers on the other hand know what the pupils and their patents want most from the school. Experience has shown to them that the best way to gain respect and status is to meet some of the community's aspirations and they therefore always tend to represent the interest of their pupils and parents. Thompson and Greenland (1983) noted in Camaroon, that when the trials with 'animation' were over and the schools and villages were left on their own, the normal routine work dominated the scene. Animation activities soon vanished or became marginal exercises.

Experience would seem to suggest that in most rural areas special schools for rural children would be reluctantly received by both parents and teachers. Secondly, given the ingrained attitudes of teachers to perceive the school within the context of parents and pupils' aspirations and expectations, it is doubtful whether appropriate preparation, training and better remuneration and conditions of service would ensure that teachers would be motivated and committed to continue the rural development programmes after the official project phase has come to an end. Our findings with IRECs in southern Sudan clearly supports this view of lack of commitment and discontinuity.

Some of the critics pointed out that problems which affect teachers directly such as those discussed in this chapter, teachers would be unwilling to involve themselves in reforms which take them beyond the classroom. Thompson and Greenland (1983) argued that such expectations of primary school teachers may well appear excessive and unrealistic demanding of them the omnipotence, commitment and energy of supermen and women. They assented that:

> We shall rather be more concerned with finding patterns and models of teachers' role which encourage staff to learn through analysis and research of their own experience and prepare them for a greater degree of autonomy in their day to day work.

This chapter shows that the typical teacher in the rural primary school in the district faces many problems and there appears to be no significant difference between IREC and other teachers in their view of the constraints they encounter in all schools. Widespread dissatisfaction among teachers is evident and has led to low morale to the extent that most schools are not functioning well.

One other way of showing teachers' miserable status was to compare and contrast the conditions of living of rural and urban teachers. Urban teachers too often have more access to certain privileges such as training, promotion, free health care, and better accommodation. The schools are also better off in terms of facilities and supply. Urban schools were not affected by the civil war and the poor communication systems. Nor do they experience the delays in salaries.

On the other hand, rural teachers as noted earlier, under go many problems often not suffered by urban teachers. Apart from what Dove (1976) has discussed, and from our findings, rural teachers are economically badly off, socially underrated, politically ignored, and professionally untrained in the skills of rural development and have the least prospects for such professional development through training than their colleagues in the urban areas.

When primary school teachers are compared with other professionals with the same educational background, teachers compare less favourably. For instance medical assistants, cooperative officers, agricultural extension officers, and community development workers have access to other material resources often not available to primary school teachers. Such items may include vehicles, extra field allowances, and free use of government resources for personal benefits such as free labour in their houses. Despite all the differences, the functions of collaboration, coordination and integration under the umbrella of IRECs were expected to succeed.

Teachers' status is undermined when they do not command resources. 'Status' is an important aspect of a teacher's social position, for it largely determines the nature of his relationship with the community and with the other professionals. Crucial is the extent of his influence in such a relationship involving different groups with different educational levels. In the traditional socities, status is closely associated with what one owns or controls in terms of resources and wealth.

Generally, the conditions under which rural primary school teachers serve are appalling, ranging from lack or dilapidated housing, school buildings and lack of equipment. Opportunities for professional and social contacts and advancement are relatively fewer than in urban areas. Likewise, there are the hardships that one often encounters in the rural areas, such as lack of health facilities, of clean drinking water, essential commodities, good schools and recreational facilities, not to mention remoteness and isolation. These are factors which determine the morale of the teachers and which in turn may influence their attitudes towards their job and the community.

Both IRECs and 'other teachers' face numerous problems in rural areas. Their schools function only marginally, they have not been adequately trained in teaching various skills and in few cases do they teach practical subjects. For most part they are dissatisfied with their work, though willing to continue in the teaching service. But if other opportunities become available they would leave teaching. On the whole they do perceive their role in the society as important and ought to transcend beyond the classroom if adequate preparations and provisions are made.

The next chapter deals with what the community expects of teachers, what roles they should play, and whether teachers are perceived as change agents by the community.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TEACHER INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the activities teachers are expected to accomplish as local change agents. The main issues pertain to teachers' leadership role, teachers' setting up organizations, teacher status and prestige, adoption of modern and improved practice in agriculture, health and home. The discussion includes the two samples of teachers discussed in the previous chapter: 10 IREC project teachers and 46 teachers from the traditional primary schools.

2. TEACHERS' LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY

Teachers' leadership role was operationalized in terms of their membership and elective positions held in such local organizations as cooperative unions, church and village councils, local political party and other local associations. One would expect to find teachers in rural areas to be highly represented on such local organizations by virtue of their being educated and that they therefore play leadership roles.

Table 8.1: TEACHERS' MEMBERSHIP IN LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AND POSITIONS HELD

ORGANIZATIONS	YES	NO	ORDINARY MEMBER	PRESIDENT	VICE PRESID.	SECRETARY	TREASURER
1. LOCAL VILLAGE COUNCIL							
(i) IRECs	-	10 100%	-	-	-	-	-
(ii) OTHERS	5 11%	41 89%	2 4%	2 4%	- -	1 2%	-
2. YOUTH CLUB							
(i) IRECS	-	10 100%	-	-	-	-	-
(ii) OTHERS	7 15%	39 85%	5 11%	- -	- -	2 4%	- -
3. WOMEN UNIONS							
(i) IRECs	2 20%	8 80%	-	1 10%	-	1 10%	-
(ii) OTHERS	3 7%	43 93%	1 2%	- -	- -	2 4%	- -
4. CHURCH ORGANISATION							
(i) IRECs	6 60%	4 40%	6 60%	- -	- -	- -	- -
(ii) OTHERS	15 32%	31 68%	13 28%	- -	- -	2 4%	- -
5. COOPERATIVE UNIONS							
(i) IRECs	-	10 100%	-	-	-	-	-
(ii) OTHERS	4 6%	42 94%	4 6%	- -	- -	- -	- -

ORGANIZATIONS	YES	NO	ORDINARY MEMBER	PRESIDENT	VICE PRESID.	SECRETARY	TREASURER
6. TEACHERS & PARENTS COUNCIL							
(i) IRECs	4	6	1	-	-	3	-
	40%	60%	10%	-	-	30%	-
(ii)OTHERS	18	28	9	-	-	9	-
	39%	61%	19.5%	-	-	19.5%	-
7. SUDAN SOCIALIST UNION							
(i) IRECs	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
		100%					
(ii)OTHERS	15	31	7	4	1	3	-
	32%	68%	15%	8.6%	2%	6.4%	-
8. LOCAL AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION							
(i) IRECs	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
		10%					
(ii) OTHERS	12	34	12	-	-	-	-
	26%	74%	26%	-	-	-	-

N : IRECs = 10
: OTHERS = 46

Table 8 shows that 'other teachers' are more prone to join their locally based organizations than IREC teachers. In all the highest score for 'other teachers' is 18 or 39 per cent for IREC, 6 or 60 per cent. However the small size of the IREC teachers makes it difficult for a realistic comparison. Despite the fact that both groups have joined some local organizations, it is not possible to ascertain whether it is the same teachers who have joined such locally based organizations.

In general, fewer teachers than expected have joined such organizations. In respect to IRECs possibly because the centres are all located in and around the town where there are many influential people and

hence primary school teachers' leadership may not be called for. It has been noted elsewhere in the thesis that most rural areas have not organized themselves into economically active groups. Right now, in the district the only organizations at village level is traditional. Few villages have organizations responsible for health, education, cooperatives and community development. Therefore whatever institutions that exist are bound to be traditional and membership based on cultural ties such as kinship, peer group, elders council, hunting (MARA), and agricultural associations of various kinds such as grouping for collective cultivation, (Avu Tibu) weeding and harvesting.

Government officials, teachers, cooperative and community development officers often are far from integrated into the village life, and indeed seen by the community as outsiders or simply as another arm of the government. Teachers may therefore join either of these local groupings in informal ways rather than with intention to transform them into formal, more purposeful groups. Some teachers may reject such traditional unions because they are aliens to the group or because these groups do not match their aspirations or gains to be made out of them. Leadership of such informal associations are generally based on traditional criteria such as age, but more importantly, natural leaders often emerge spontaneously.

It is also important to note that locally based institutions are established to deal with immediate human problems such as burial of a dead relative, cultivation, harvesting, hunting, festivals (KARAMA) or putting up a house. Such matters are controlled by cultural norms and accompolished in traditional ways under the direction of a traditional leadership who are often considered by the community as custodians of traditional culture, and practice pertaining to the ethnic group in question. For instance in the case of agriculture, teachers may be considered by the rural people as

non-practioners in agricultural matters. As such may not be seen as natural leaders as would a local cultivator.

Experience too, has shown that rarely do parents have faith in the practical knowledge of teachers about agricultural matters. However, one of the duties of the teacher in the rural areas as a possible leader could be to convince the community that the benefits to be derived from the new methods are worth all the bother of abandoning old familiar ways. Nevertheless, lack of adequate practical knowledge about modern agricultural techniques by teachers themselves and their non involvement in modern agricultural practices casts a shadow over their leadership in agricultural matters.

Wilson and Geothals (1960) pointed out that there are three types of influences which have a bearing on the accepted values of a given occupational group. They are, pre-adult socialization, occupational selection and professional socialization. In southern Sudan the majority of teachers in the rural primary schools have rural social backgrounds. They went to the local primary school, and are in close touch with their rural communities. They were born and bred in the culture of the community. Though they have acquired new values of education and modern societies, they are bound to respect those values inculcated in them by the family and the peer groups. The teacher in this situation could not in any substantial way teach new values to his parents because of his pre-adult socialization. The teacher in his capacity as a teacher would be more inclined to assume a laissez-faire position when dealing with the community particularly with the elders.

As regards leadership in other community organizations, the table shows that in most cases teachers appear to be ordinary members. Only one IREC teacher and six of "other teachers" held presidential and vice presidential posts. This may show some indication of either lack of leadership qualities among teachers or lack of general cultural qualifications on the part of teachers to be accepted and therefore elected as leaders.

It has been claimed by some scholars that in the past teachers more often stood out as important community leaders. Dove's (1979) survey of teachers in politics in developing countries and Lauglo's (1982) 'teachers as community leaders' in some developed countries discussed teachers' leadership factors in the past. It would therefore appear in respect to our finding that the conditions which existed then and which had favoured teacher-community leadership have been overrun by changes in the social, economic, political and cultural structures which have correspondingly affected teachers' special positions in the local community in terms of their status, respect and prestige and hence their leadership capacity.

However, table 8.1 also shows that more often teachers are elected as secretaries to the various organizations. Indeed, the table shows that in all expect for the cooperative unions, teachers hold clerical posts. The possible explanaation is that secretarial duties involve taking minutes, writing reports, general correspondence, and explanation of policy documents. This calls for somebody in the community with skills in writing and reading. It is here that teachers seem to be called upon to help members of the community. Teachers seem not to be trusted with cash, as no teacher included in our sample has been elected as treasurer.

By and large it would seem that when rare skills such as taking minutes, writing reports and explanation of written policy documents matter, teachers tend to be required. But decision-making and control of resources such as cash are not left in the hands of teachers. It was pointed out in chapter III that leadership in the community development entailed control of resources both human and material. In this event teachers are unlikely to act as leaders since they are rarely represented on the decision-making machinery of the various organizations.

Our finding concurs with Lauglo's (1982) thesis that leadership as distinct from the more modest resource person role such as described here, means acting on behalf of a group and influencing decisions which are accepted as binding upon the group members. We find no evidence of such effective leadership factors among teachers in Maridi district.

Other social factors appear to militate against teachers' leadership role in the community. It has been suggested in many reports and project documents that teachers must respect community's cultural values as pre-requisites to acceptance of their new roles as change agents. This appears more easily said than done. Despite the fact that most young teachers were born and bred in the rural community, our field observation and discussion with members of the rural community showed that many young teachers scorn traditional values and behave quiet disorderly so as to earn bad reputation among the various communities contacted. Such factors as deployment of teachers irrespective of their ethnic origin, language, place of training (urban or rural) and level of education may force some teachers to undermine traditional values and practices. Hence their being rejected by the rural communities as ideal leaders.

Another factor which militates against teachers' leadership role is the 'school as an institution' on one hand and the 'school as an alien institution to the general members of the rural community on the other. Thompson (1983) has pointed out that the school as an institution has created its own barriers and it is easy for teachers to confine themselves in these schools as alien institutions within the society and ignore the community around them. On the other hand, members of the community rarely interfere with the local schools. In this case there is no effective interaction between the two groups. Consequently teachers' leadership potential could not be developed unless there is that 'effective interaction'.

3. TEACHERS' ROLE IN SETTING UP LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS.

Teachers' role in setting up community development activities in rural areas was assessed in two ways. The first pertained to establishing and running of various local institutions such as adult literacy classes, cooperative unions, discussion groups, self-help projects, cultural activities and fund raisings for community development projects such as schools, health clinics, community centres and others. The point was to determine the ability of teachers to organise their communities into "economically active groups".

The second indicator adopted as a measure of teachers' role in setting up and managing community development activities was the extent to which they make use of their students to carry out a number of community development tasks in their respective communities. Such tasks included among others, digging community wells, toilet pits, garbage pits, spraying mosquito hideouts and cleaning the village communial places. Another dimension was the extent to which teachers used their students to study community problems and needs as specified by the IRECs project proposals. Under this we included, visits to farms, village water sources, chiefs court, markets, finding out about the common diseases in and around the school.

In establishing and running local institutions teachers were asked to indicate which organizations they have established and their present stage of operation. Table 8.2 shows the various responses from the IRECs and 'other teachers'.

Table 8.2: TEACHERS ROLE IN ESTABLISHING AND RUNNING VARIOUS COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

ORGANIZATIONS	IRECs		OTHER TEACHERS	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
Adult Literacy	6 60%	4 40%	3 7%	43 93%
Cooperative Unions	-	10 100%	-	46 100%
Discussion groups	-	10 100%	5 11%	41 89%
Self-help projects	3 30%	7 70%	8 17%	38 83%
Sports	7 70%	3 30%	17 37%	29 63%
Fund Raising	2 20%	8 80%	6 13%	40 87%

The table shows that majority of IREC teachers (60%) were at one point involved in adult literacy teaching. Three (7%) of other teachers claimed involvement but the large majority (93%) did not. Asked about the stage of development of literacy programme all the teachers in the sample reported that the programme has stopped functioning. The main reason being that, the programme had initially been encouraged and supported by IRECs and the government through provision of funds, materials and incentives. But when IRECs came to an end and funds from the government was not forth coming, the teachers stopped.

Cooperative union has never been organized by teachers. Table 8.1 also shows that only 4 teachers (other teachers) interviewed had joined cooperative unions as members with no elective responsibilities. Clearly the majority of teachers in the sample have not been in the foreground in

establishing local community development activities. One would expect that since rural primary school teachers are among the few educated people in the rural areas, they would provide the much needed leadership particularly in orientating pupils' and parents' minds towards their own problems, making them conscious of their development problems and activate them to tackle those problems as an organized group.

Teachers were asked 'which of the following activities have you been involved in during this school year in the community?'

Table 8.3: INVOLVEMENT IN SOME COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TASKS

	IREC TEACHERS		OTHERS	
RESPONSE OPTIONS	YES	NO	YES	NO
1. Fencing water source	-	10	-	46
2. Filtering water	-	1	-	46
3. Boiling drinking water	6	4	17	29
4. Demonstrating how to grow crops.	-	10	-	46
5. Prepare bed seeds	3	7	-	46
6. Making poultry sheds	-	10	-	46
7. Demonstrating cookery	-	10	-	46
8. Food preparation	-	10	-	46
9. Cleaning community communal areas	-	10	-	46
10. Digging pit toilets	-	10	-	46
11. Digging garbage pits	-	10	-	46
12. Involving your students in community studies & activities	-	10	-	46
	N = 10		N = 46	

There is little evidence to support any claims that teachers have engaged in activities outlined in table 8.3 nor used their students to establish

essential communial facilities such as wells, toilet and garbage pits. There is equally no evidence that teachers have organised learning experiences around community problems and needs. The reasons given by the teachers for not engaging in these activities are many and varied.

Some examples of these (reasons) are given here. Generally, (for both samples) they range from lack of equipment and materials, text books, rigid adhering to school syllabus, poor conditions of service of teachers, widespread dissatisfaction and poor educational background of teachers and training they have received which in most cases did not prepare them for such tasks which require independence and sense of initiative and creativity. In the words of the teachers themselves the following figured clearly:

1. Language problem (alien teachers)
2. Fear of black magic.
3. Scattered homesteads.
4. Teachers not trained for such tasks.
5. Community members seem unconcerned.
6. Most of our activities are centred in the school and school children.
7. Much of what IREC specialists taught us and introduced, we have stopped doing them because the government seems uninterested in IRECs. We are just like other teachers.
8. The school is in the town where water is supplied, the town has trained cooperative, community development, doctor and agricultural officers. It is to these people that most community people go.
9. If children fail, we teachers are blamed for their failure. Parents want their children to learn how to read and write and pass examinations.
10. We have not been encouraged. There are no incentives, salary increments, no books and materials.

In this particular situation, school syllabus is prepared in Khartoum by the central ministry and hence a central controlling authority. The teachers therefore partly, from traditional attitudes to authority and the power of examinations, partly from enherent lack of self-confidence, they do not like to jeopardize their career, though a poor career it is, by initiating something different from what has been suggested in the syllabus. Study of the environment and the community's problems and needs are often described as 'outside the syllabus' and so is visiting a farm or village court as 'time wasting'.

There is little in view of the author of this thesis to commend the organizational abilities of rural primary school teachers either in the use of their pupils for community development purposes or organizing the community members into an active group.

4. TEACHER STATUS AND PRESTIGE

As noted in chapter IV, the indicators of 'status' and 'prestige' were based on the claim that 'rural inhabitants would tend to seek advice, and assistance from those people in the community whom they consider important and to whom they give respect and assign status and prestige.

In this context, teachers' advise on a number of non-school matters and assistance are believed to give a fair measure of teachers' social standing in their respective rural communities. Table 8.4 shows teachers responses to 'Do you give advice to your members of the community on community issues?' The field data shows that few teachers give advice on a number of community development issues (see Table 8.4).

Most of the advice given by teachers relates to their own school work. Most teachers say that they advise parents to send their children to school, pay school fees, buy school uniforms, and books for their children. Nearly all do not regard community development activities as part of their work.

Table 8.4: TEACHERS' ADVICE ON A NUMBER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

	IREC TEACHERS		OTHER TEACHERS	
RESPONSES	YES	NO	YES	NO
Modern agricultural Practice	1	9	13	33
Health Education	1	9	22	24
Cooperative Movement	-	10	10	36
Adult Literacy	3	7	21	25
Nutrition Problems	-	10	19	27
Child-Mother Care	-	10	22	24

N for IRCEs = 10 N for "others" = 46

Asked why they don't give advice to the members of their communities on these issues, the majority claimed that members of their communities do not often come to consult them. Perhaps one of the reasons being that members of the community do not consider teachers to be specialists on these matters.

On the other hand, there exists in the district a well established agricultural extension department supported by the Food and Agricultural Organization which has a body of well trained field assistants who deal directly with farmers. A trained community and cooperative development officer is also based in the district town. In the field of health education, nutrition and child-mother care the Primary Health Care Unit (PHCU) a paramedical body, complete with a mobile team headed by a medical doctor renders this service.

It would appear difficult particularly for IREC teachers whose schools are located in and around the district town to execute IRECs objectives. Their

knowledge and skills in medical field, agriculture and other development areas may be overshadowed by these technically trained officers. Teacher's role may equally be seen as unwarranted interference in areas which both traditionally and technically they are unqualified to perform.

Generally, it would be assumed that members of the community would tend to seek advice on more technical issues from those whom they consider technically qualified or specialists in the particular area rather than the local teacher whom they consider more or less a lay person in the matter. The practical experience of the specialists thus may appeal more than the verbal advice of the teachers when matters of technical skills are concerned.

Further probing of teachers on 'giving adivce' showed that teachers' advice was mainly informatory, making the public aware of available facilities such as health clinics, where to purchase drugs, who to contact for seeds or where to buy tools and other information regarding government offices.

Teachers were also asked to indicate what assistance they often rendered to their members around the community. Table 8.5 shows the categorized responses for the two samples of teachers.

Table 8.5

KINDS OF ASSISTANCE	Very Often	Often	Not Often	Not at all
MONEY (LOAN)	(10%)	(20%)	(30%)	(40%)
IRECs	1	2	3	4
Others	33	2	3	38
	6.5%	4.4%	6.5%	82.6%
MEDICINE	(20%)	(10%)	(20%)	(50%)
IRECs	2	1	2	5
Others	5	10	9	22
	10.9%	21.7%	19.6%	47.8%
CLOTHES (OLD)	30%	10%	20%	40%
IRECs	3	1	2	4
Others	5	7	6	28
	10.9%	15.2%	13.0%	60.8%
STATIONERY (PAPERS)				
IRECs	-	1	1	8.0%
Others	10	4	5	27
	21.7%	8.7%	10.9%	58.7%
FOOD	-	-	(20%)	80%
IRECs	-	-	2	8
Others	5	10	5	26
	10.9%	21.7%	10.9%	56.5%

An overwhelming majority of teachers appeared to have rendered no assistance at all. The lack of money may be the main reason. This together with the other findings discussed in this chapter indicate the lack of respect,status and prestige members have for primary school teachers. In

rural areas a person is respected because of his wealth, and help to the people. Usually rural teachers have neither the wealth nor the resources to match some of the wealthy rural inhabitants. Teachers expressed their grievances in various ways. Some of these have been reproduced here verbatim to emphasise their case.

> 'Members of the community always demand for money. Our low and irregular salaries render us helpless to our communities. They have no respect for us as teachers'.

The second one has this to say:

> 'We teachers are helpless to our communities due to lack of salary. We borrow money from the more progressive petty traders and farmers around the school. If you go to the market you will see teachers without proper clothings, without shoes, even begging local market people to reduce prices of food to them'.

The third teacher says that:

> 'My wives (2) brew beer for sale, so that we can feed our children. I myself have to work hard in the garden so that I don't go begging for food. We have forgotten about salaries. we all behave like the villagers who are not educated. In fact you cannot distinguish me from them. We live like them and some of them are better off than us. How can I help them?'

Lastly:

> 'Local people around here have stopped asking me for financial or any assistance because they have been disappointed many times. They don't respect us anymore. The people in this village respect or associate with you only when you have money.

From these expressions by teachers about their own social positions, one might argue that teachers would be biased in their opinions, that they

would tend to exaggerate their own poverty in order to gain sympathy and support from visiting government officials and research fellows. But since the expressions are so similar and widespread one is led to support the view that rural primary school teachers endure hardships and that their status and prestige have drastically declined with time to the extent that rural people no longer consider them as assets to the community.

Apart from financial problems noted or expressed by teachers, they were asked to state the most serious problems which hinder them from rendering assistance to members of the rural community around the schools. 82 per cent and 70 per cent of 'other teachers' and IREC respectively mentioned lack of cooperation between teachers and parents on one hand and poor government attention through lack of provisions of materials, equipment and accommodation for teachers on the other. Other problems mentioned were teachers have too many dependants, language problem and lack of training for teachers in the rural areas.

Another measure of teachers' status adopted was their relationship with outside bodies such as officials of voluntary aid agencies, government officials such as medical assistants, assistant agricultural officers, cooperative and community development workers. These officials were selected because they have the same relative level of education. The central point here was to investigate the extent to which teachers' connections and hence their status, transcend beyond the local community. It was assumed that if teachers relationship with outside organizations was strong, this would make the local people regard the teachers as instruments through whom they could harness scarce resources and thus give teachers some respect and status.

It has been noted in chapter seven that primary school teachers do not match their colleagues in other government departments with the same educational backgrounds. Primary school teachers earn lower pay and have no

incentive provisions and other benefits such as car loans, houses, free medical health and holiday allowances. In terms of control of scarce material resources, teachers are clearly disadvantaged in that other departments such as cooperatives own sugar, salt, cooking oil, paraffin, soap and blankets under their control. While the department of Agriculture controls seeds and agricultural tools, all essential for human survival in rural areas. No doubt teachers are bound to depend more on such colleagues than vice versa. Likewise such officials offer more in materials goods to the members of their community than do teachers.

In this context, an inherent problem with an integrated rural development approach which attempts to use rural primary teachers would appear in the difficulty of establishing mutual trust and respect among the various groups involved on one hand and how to improve teachers images as potential leaders on the other. At the present, teachers have undoubtedly been over-shadowed by the other officials and in most cases observed, members of rural community pay more respect to the other officials than the local teacher in the area.

5. TEACHERS' ADOPTION OF MODERN AND IMPROVED TECHNIQUES IN THEIR OWN HOMES

The method adopted was 'observation' based on a set of check list. The premise behind the scheme was that it was not enough for rural primary school teachers to teach their pupils, subjects like hygiene, modern agricultural skills, better nutrition and other health habits, but must endeavour to practice them in their own homes, on their farms and in their own behaviour. Hence we adopted these areas for observation within the teachers' environment.

(a) Adoption of modern Agricultural practices:

To have additional source of food as well as to supplement their meagre salaries, teachers would be expected to engage in front and backyard gardening. Indeed our observations showed that all teachers particularly in the rural areas do engage in gardening around their homes. Plants such as eggplants, melons, tomatoes, cabbages and other vegetable varieties are easily grown near the homes for daily consumption but also for sale.

There was great differences in methods adopted for vegetable gardening and major staple food (cereals) cultivation. But there appears to be no difference among the teachers' methods of agricultural practice. Both samples of teachers adopted new methods of agricultural practice for vegetable gardening around their homes. Such methods as spacing, lining, using improved seeds and chemicals are impracticable with staple foodstuffs which are grown extensively. It is believed that with such staple foodstuffs, the larger the area, the greater crop will be reaped. The idea of intensive farming, with high capital investment resulting in high productivity is still far from being integrated into the present rural life.

Reasons for the rejection of modern agricultural methods for certain type of crops include: "seeds (hybrid) are not available most of the time"; "there is no guarantee that seeds are viable," "cereal seeds too small for spacing and lining"; "it will waste a lot of time". Another reason is that teachers and members of the community have traditional agricultural unions, where they work together during cultivation seasons. Spending a day in each homestead cultivating. The most commonly method is "seed dispersal or spreading" using simple implements like hoes.

Fertilizing per se is not an innovation to the great majority of the teachers. They claimed that the soils here are very fertile and do not call for the use of fertilizers. In reality any crop can be grown in this area without making use of artifical fertilizers. The source of fertilizers has been the

natural manure on which teachers most depend. It is also expensive to buy the artificial ones from the district agricultural stores.

Successful crop production is also a function of the attention given by the people and teachers to the control of plant pests and disease. One would therefore expect that teachers would engage in this practice in order to achieve better production. Teachers when asked, stated that they do not protect their crops against pests or use 'ashes' when the need is felt. Their main problem in the district is protection against 'birds' which feed on cereals.

(b) Adoption of modern Health Practices:

Here the emphasis was on taking stock of pit latrines, eating habits, boiling drinking water, food coverage. Toilet habit is an important aspect of rural transformation that is considered essential in maintaining rural health and sanitation. Most schools have toilet pits built either by the government or the local school authorities. Teachers do realize the importance of toilets but they expressed doubt whether the general members of the community have adopted the practice.

The eating habits of teachers still ascribe to the traditional norm. Males eat separately from women. Male teachers often group together and share food from the same plate or bowl. The practice of each person having his own plate is not widespread. We noted that teachers use the same cup, mug or glass for everyone on the table. Washing of hands before meals is observed though from the same vessel. When the water gets dirty, it is renewed. On the whole food eating habit is still traditional emphasising communalism. There seems to be no fear of communicable diseases spread through sharing of food or mugs.

The main problem expressed by teachers is that extended family system allows relatives to live with their more fortunate relatives and

therefore a high number of dependants per teacher. Buying as many as ten to fifteen plates and glasses is a luxury most teachers cannot afford. There is indeed great room for improvement in this area but nuclear family system may be the start.

Clean drinking water appears less of a problem in the district most areas have bore-holes which supply clean drinking water. In most cases these bore-holes are located close to the school or within the school premises. Where no bore-holes have been drilled, drinking water is obtained from streams or springs. Very few teachers boil their drinking water while it appears to be a normal practice among leading churchmen.

Generally, teachers' families prepare their food in the traditional manner. The main fuel used is either charcoal or firewood. Food is mainly boiled and sometimes by sautening where ever certain ingredients and spices are available but this appears to be a rare occurance. Salads and sweets are rarely served in teachers' homes in the rural areas.

The main food consist of fresh or dry meat, fish and vegetables. The quality of food tends to vary with seasons. During the dry season there appears less to eat except wild game meat and fish. The rainy season appears to have much to offer in terms of variety of vegetables, maize, nuts and fruits. On the whole teachers' wives appear to prepare meals without giving a single thought to balanced diet containing vitamins, proteins, minerals, fats and oil. This could be due to the widespread illiteracy among teachers' wives.

Food preservation pattern appears to be poor among teachers. For instance, vegetables such as pepper, onion, radish, tomatoes could be preserved in a 'pickle' solution and then stored in bottles. Fruits like mangoes, pineapples and bananas which are plentiful during respective seasons could be boiled in syrup and preserved in bottles. Such techniques seem not to be available to IREC teachers in particular. The only exceptions

are fish and meat which are dried or salted or smoked by teachers' wives. It is interesting to note that in a near by district, Mundri, the ACROS (African Committee for the Rehabilitation of Southern SUdan) have widely introduced such techniques through their rural development scheme among christians.

Keeping children clean was included under health. The researcher was interested in observing child-rearing practices which conform to healthy practices. Another point was to investigate whether or not teachers and their wives encouraged their children to develop such health habits as taking baths regularly, brushing teeth, personal grooming and the like. We find little evidence to support the view that teachers and their wives do advise their children to adopt these health habits. Children could be seen running around during our interview, without proper and clean clothing.

We were told that often the children take bath in the stream on their own or the smaller ones were washed by their older sisters. No specific health rules and regulations seem to be implemented. Under the circumstances existing in the rural areas, it is quite natural for the parents to behave the way they did. Poverty in the rural areas is so marked it cannot escape the naked eye. With respect to personal earnings teachers have been most neglected by the government. It has been pointed out that on average teachers in this district had not received their salaries for as long as 6-8 months in 1984/85 period.

Home cleanness and beautification were also areas of interest to the researcher. The idea was to record how teachers kept the front and backyards free from rubbish and how they maintained systems of proper garbage disposal Similarly, the researcher was interested to see whether teachers maintained accepted health practices such as keeping the part under the house clean from animal and chicken droppings, sleeping in separate beds and rooms and keeping to proper table manners, such as eating from separate plates and glasses. In most cases observed teachers in rural primary schools

do not follow most of the modern practices accepted generally as ideal. Few teachers kept their front yards clean, chickens and animals commonly roam the homestead unhinderred and children share beds and rooms.

Home beautification was difficult to assess. It was equally difficult to enter every hut in the schools and villages. Hence beautification came to be based on presence of flower-beds, vases, curtains, items in the sitting room such as arrangement of books on shelves, pictures and paintings hung on the walls, table covers and other decorations. Generally, teachers and members of the community have radios and bicycles as important household materials.

The observation records show that in general teachers do have huts which they use as their sitting rooms for welcoming visitors, equipped with chairs and coffee tables. Care appears to have been taken to see that these huts are kept clean and have wall decorations particularly family photographs, maps, and charts for teaching. Some of the items observed in teachers houses evidently belong to the school. However, these items often indicate the extent of teachers' sophistication.

Generally, rural primary school teachers appear infrequent adopters of modern techniques discussed in this chapter. However, occassionally, an exceptional individual teacher is found. More often such exceptional teachers are those who have children or close relatives in government service and who therefore support their parents and relatives both financially and materially.

In summary, it is clear that several facets of local social and economic factors such as sharp inequalities of wealth, power and status between teachers and the traditional leadership on one hand, and between teachers and other personnel of government departments in the district on the other exist. These differences impinge directly on the ability of the teachers to introduce changes in the local areas and to adopt modern practices.

Secondly, rural areas generally suffer from lack of local support services such as shops, transport facilities, markets, health services, water supply, service industries and agriculturally oriented services such as extension, seed propogation and sales, tools and stores. The provision of these by local government authorities would strengthen and improve teachers extended role by coordinating their IREC work with other government agencies. Hence, lack of local government and education capacity and political support for the teacher in the rural area has severely undermined the status of the rural primary school teachers to act as agents of change.

The final conclusion is that rural primary school teachers in the district have low potential to act as change agents. They are too poorly qualified and ill-equipped with material resources to be capable of acting professionally let alone expanding their role into areas which traditionally lie outside their sphere of function.

CHAPTER NINE

COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS' ROLE AND FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter assesses the community's views about IREC teachers and the new roles expected of them by the project. Four kinds of information were sought from the community members in the vicinity of the rural schools.

(a) Awareness and knowledge of the IREC project.

(b) Participation in teacher initiated community development tasks.

(c) Adoption of modern farming, health and child-care and diet practices.

(d) Attitudes towards the project and the teachers involved.

As noted in chapter II, the Sudan government launched IREC programme financed by the World Bank, which would involve out-of-school youths and illiterate adults. It was stated that the centres located in the poorest areas of the Sudan, would train rural people in the skills of rural development including agriculture, animal husbandry, handcraft, poultry-keeping and health education.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The 46 members who were interviewed may be considered as a representative sample of the three chiefdoms where IREC schools were located. The poll-tax registers in the possession of the chiefs provided the list for random sampling. The greatest number of the respondents were farmers (74%) several of whom had a few acres of coffee, pineapples, maize, cassava, citrus and keep a few goats, sheep and chickens. There were 2 tailors, charcoal burners, one carpenter and 2 lay-christian readers. All

engaged in cultivation during the year. They stated that they grew their own food items and rarely bought any staple foods from the market.

The majority of the respondents were in their fifties followed by those who were in their forties. Average age was 51. One weakness in the sampling procedure based on poll-tax records is that women get ignored as they don't pay this particular tax. As a result women were not included. But during the interview, both husband and wife were often interviewed together and both comments were taken into account.

Two-thirds of the respondents claim to be fairly literate. Table 9.1 shows their educational level.

Table 9.1: LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN RESPONDENTS

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NO	%
NEVER WENT TO SCHOOL	14	30%
SOME PRIMARY EDUCATION	25	54%
COMPLETED PRIMARY SCHOOL	3	7%
SOME SECONDARY EDUCATION	4	9%
COMPLETED SECONDARY EDUCATION	-	-
	N = 46	100%

Three-fifths of the respondents (28) received 'some primary and primary schooling'. Despite their education, a large majority admitted to have lost their ability to read and express themselves in English. The few associated with the local churches stil practised reading the Bible and other Christian literature in their respective local languages.

3. COMMUNITY MEMBERS PERCEPTION OF TEACHERS' ROLE

The educational and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents was reflected in their perception of education, the role of teachers and in their view of development.

People living near the town and where some development was taking place, were more prone to adopt certain modern practices such as using health services and certain agricultural methods. But such services as health clinics, agricultural extension and others are often not available to rural people. The comments to be described here may be seen as typical of rural people whose patterns of life was still predominantly traditional but in most cases hold particular ideas about development and the role of education in their own development.

It is precisely here that official government goals of education and that of the rural people clash. There is a gap between what the community really wants from the school and what teachers can deliver on one hand, and the government ideal for community transformation, on the other. To the traditional rural people, the school is there to prepare their children for modern sector employment.

Most respondents did not want their children to resort to farming like themselves but to find some sort of government employment. They were clear about what they really want for their children. They sent their children to school so that they could get jobs in the urban areas, thereby escaping the hardships their parents experience. The concept of education for national development including rural transformation is not what motivates the traditional rural people to send their children to school.

Secondly, the concept of community participation in primary education both in the past and present have been very weak or indirect. Schools have always been seen as government or missionary responsibilities in the Sudan. in respect of control, administration, allocation of resources, provision of facilities, teacher training, curriculum content, examinations and allocation

of roles to the teachers. Parents, particularly those in rural areas have had no say on these matters. To the rural people the education of their children which would lead to jobs in the modern sector is what counts as development of the individual families.

The following quotes illustrate how they perceive education, and how they in turn would get developed.

> 'I am not educated, that is why I am poor. I want my children to read so that they don't become poor like me'.

> 'After going to school and getting a government employment my children will be able to clothe me, send me money and build a good house here'.

> '..... my neighbours' children went to school and now they have built him a nice brick house. They visit him regularly and bring him many things. He has a radio, bicycle, and has a lot of money to spend'.

Education in this respect is perceived in terms of mobility, employment and ultimately financial rewards accruing to the family. It is also clear that sometimes success of a particular family where children perform better become subjects of talk in the village, examples to other families to encourage their children to work hard in schools and finally, envy. Frustration among parents is often the end result when children fail their qualifying examinations and reduce their chances to get a government job. The government and more particularly the teachers get the blame for such failures.

Finally, the institution school is alien to the rural environment. It is an institution established to deal with young children not adults. Indeed rural schools have no provisions and facilities for adults. Hence what goes on in

the school is considered by the rural adults as for children and the responsibility of the teachers and those who can control it. The belief is also that the government has a responsiblity to provide employment for the community's children who have been to school. These and many other factors seem to influence the community's concept of the teachers' roles.

Respondents were asked, 'what job would you like your child to get after completion of studies?' Table 9.2 seems to suggest that parents would want a job in the government sector not too far away from where the parents live. The choices are the types of employments one would find in Maridi town with which most rural parents are familiar. During the interview, it was clear that most parents seemed reluctant to select employment for their children. Too often the researcher had to insist that they make a choice. But it would appear that parents would accept any type of job so long as it is in the urban area be it clerical or even as servants. The logical reason cold only be that parents want their children to escape the hardships of the rural environment.

Table 9.2 COMMUNITY MEMBERS CHOICE OF CAREER FOR THEIR CHILDREN

CHOICE OF JOBS	NO.
MEDICAL ASSISTANTS	10
NURSES	1
PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS	11
ASSISTANT COOPERATIVE OFFICER	1
ASSISTANT AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION OFFICER	20
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OFFICER	1
MECHANIC	1
ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER	1
	N = 46

Hawes (1978) aptly noted that parents and their children believe firmly that 'wage and salary earners live a better life than subsistence farmers, that town life is superior to village life. There is much to support their views. Young people in wage employment generally earn more than they would on the farm, earn it earlier and earn it regularly' p.14.

Generally, education is associated with higher status employment when compared to cultivation, rearing cattle and goats. The comments indicate that any employment in the modern sector is better than cultivation and that the latter is not suitable employment for educated people. Cultivation or traditional farming is for those who did not go to school or have failed. Failure, too is considered disgraceful to the family because it means lack of future earning capacity and therefore family ability to develop.

Thus education as means to wealth to a large extent determines the community's perception of the role of the teacher. Government attempt in setting up vocationally oriented schools (IRECs) did not fit this pattern of thinking. Farming, carpentry, masonry and blacksmiths were not perceived as jobs but as means of survival. As such IRECs appeared opposed to what ordinary rural people view as means to development. Only with a job in the modern sector would there be development.

Since government efforts in developing rural areas appear less effective parents tend to stress personal advancement through the financial assistance they would receive from their educated and government employed children. Any attempt by the government or aid agencies to alter the existing school system or superimpose a new concept such as IRECs on the old would be readily rejected.

Communities around IREC schools all appeared to associate or perceive IRECs initially as 'general education' leading to post primary education and eventually to acquisition of employment in the modern sector. But when it became clear to the parents that IRECs was designed to prepare their children for a vocation in the rural area rather than in the urban sector, this led to

clash of interests. Parents value academic scchools because they open up the chances for individual advancement. IRECs was associated with hardship and manual labour which to them does not amount to what they see as education.

One respondent at Naam IREC made it clear that 'agricultural work could be learned at home here, there is so much work here for one person to do'. Another respondent pointed to the teachers' lack of agricultural skills and knowledge. 'What can these teachers offer our children that we cannot'. At the end of the interview respondents were asked to express their views about IRECs. Few chose to do so, but the message was clear. They were no longer enthusiastic about sending their children to IRECs, where in their view, their children could learn those things just as well at home.

This claim agrees with what members of the community said, when they were asked to give reasons for the inability of rural primary school teachers in handling community development issues. The actual question asked was: 'Do you think rural primary school teachers are the right kind of people to handle community development matters, yes or no, if no, why?' The following quotations illustrate the respondents feelings on the subject (Question No. 3‡).

'Many of their pupils fail to proceed to intermediate schools. If pupils fail in those subjects taught by those teachers, how can they be capable of doing these complicated things'.

'Teachers themselves do not practice these things in their own homes. So they are not really different from us'.

'The necessary tools needed for performing these tasks are expensive and teachers cannot afford them'.

'Most teachers have not been trained to handle these issues'.

'Teachers have no knowledge of these activities. As I can see teachers only want to keep their hands clean particularly the young ones'.

'The present generation of teachers no longer do these things because they are all irresponsible, lazy and take themselves as government officials and have no respect for manual labour'.

Depsite government claims to extend the role of the teacher, the authorities have not removed the strong influence of examinations. Parents still expect the primary task of teachers to be that of instructing the young. Teachers themselves are clearly aware of community expectations and aspirations. Teachers from their own experience know that their future promotion and above all else status and prestige lie in proper instruction of pupils in academic subjects and providing ideal preparation (drilling) for pupils to pass their final examinations and continuing their education beyond the local village primary school.

Teachers are caught between government intentions and the felt needs of the rural community. In a sense the traditional methods of educational planning and managing schools where teachers' performances are evaluated in terms of 'pupil passes', contradicts government policies and shows the lack of understanding of what the community really wants from the teachers and the school.

Rural people can make life very difficult for any teacher not working in their favour. In cases known to the writer, some teachers have been transfered or demoted on the express demand of the community. In a particular case one teacher was transfered because the pupils spent much of their physical education lessons digging in the teacher's garden. When at the end of the year, the pupils failed their promotion examination the parents marched to the school and attacked him. In another school, where entire final year classes failed in two successive years, parents refused to sell food, or have anything to do with the teacher. There are many examples of community protests such as withdrawal of children from school, physical attacks on teachers in beer houses, unless such teachers are transfered. In most cases, the school authorities have no choice but to transfer such unwanted teachers.

To date many contradications remain. There is yet no universal and generally accepted alternative to traditional methods of teacher evaluation except examinations and pupil passes; official policy intentions and what the rural people want remain wide apart; national educational goals and in difference to parental expectations and aspirations in the rural areas. Thus teachers in rural areas are caught between the demands of the official government policy and those of the rural people.

Community perception of the role of education and therefore that of teachers, appears widespread in Africa. For instance, Foster, P (1966) commented that (p.150/1):

> So long as parents and students perceive the function of education in this manner (modern sector employment) agricultural education and vocational instruction in the schools is not likely to have a determining influence on the occupational aspirations and destinations of students.

In this context, community attitudes, aspirations and expectations appear to be conditioned largely by individual's perception of what future employment opportunities exist within the exchange sector of the modern economy.

Anderson (1970) and Dove (1975/76) have argued that the predominance of examinations as selection mechanisms have long since determined the role of education and how teachers perform their teaching duties. Teachers have tended to fulfill the demands of examinations which are tied to the rewards of modern sector economy and which appear congruent with community perceptions and demands.

4 AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE OF IREC PROJECT:

The response of the community members to the project and the teachers involved will to a certain degree be determined by their awareness and knowledge of the project. Clearly, how much the rural members know about the project hinges on several factors which include, the number of years the project has been in operation, the nature of the programme, and the extent to which the programme was directed toward all members of the village or villages, the nature of the communication systems used, ability and acceptance of project teachers and the contacts between the teachers and the members of the community.

One of the initial concerns in investigating community perceptions of teachers role is to find out whether or not villagers through the activities of the project teachers came to know and learn about the project, what it meant to them in terms of their aspirations, expectations, needs and problems. It has been noted that communication is a problem. With rarity and poverty of communtication media, mobilization and explanation of project objectives to all members of the rural community becomes quite a problem.

Awareness of the project was determined by asking the 46 respondents four questions to establish

(a) When they first learned or heard about the project.

(b) What they learned or knew about the project.

(c) Who among the IREC teachers they personally knew.

(d) Whether IREC was useful to them.

Respondents who reported they had never heard about IREC project were not asked the subsequent questions. Those however, who claimed they had heard about IRECs were further probed.

Of the 46 members interviewed only 13 (29%) said they were aware of the IREC project. Further analysis showed that the 13 who were aware, were those who lived near the town and around the IREC pilot schools. The awareness tended to diminish with distance from the town.

There was a difference between 'awareness' and 'actual awareness'. Those who claimed 'awareness' did not go so far as to state IREC objectives nor identified themselves with the project. The project was widely conceived as one of the government projects, controlled by unknown authorities in the centre.

The Report of the Tripartite Review and Evaluation Mission (FIT/507/SUD/10 UNESCO 1982) pointed to the misconception of the IREC concept in the various documents and official statements from the very beginning. The various definitions given to IRECs by both International agencies and Sudan government officials have been discussed in Chapter one. However, at the village level, the members interviewed were not so wide off the mark. Each touched on some aspect of IRECs (Table 9.4).

Some of the answers given in Table 9.4 indicate that members who were aware of IRECs, understood fairly well what IREC was. It has been stated that parents around Naam IRECs school, prefer to send their children to traditional primary schools and refered to IRECs as an 'agricultural school'. The association of IRECs with agricultural practice carries with it the traditional attitude of viewing agriculture, carpentry, smiths and masonry as not ideal for the educated. Hence, IRECs according to the knowledge of the respondents was meant to keep their children in the rural areas contrary to what the parents expected.

Table 9.4 SOME ANSWERS ON WHAT IRECs IS ALL ABOUT:

	TYPES OF ANSWERS	NO
1.	It is health and agricultural education.	3
2.	It is rural educaton.	3
3.	Teachers practising rural education.	3
4.	Development of agriculture and health.	1
5.	Modern ways of cultivation.	1
6.	It is poultry raising, growing citrus fruits, carpentry and practical education.	2
		=13

'How did you come to know/learn about IRECs project and who among the IREC teachers did you personally know?'

Of the 13 members who were aware of the project, a large majority (8) came to know of it through their local chiefs. Only 4 members mentioned the names of specific teachers who told them about IRECs. In a predominantly rural situation where there are poor communication systems, contacts between the agents (teachers) and the rural people have to be on face to face basis.

One would therefore expect that teachers would use extension techniques such as meetings, field trips, home visits and demonstrations in order to attract participants. We however, found no evidence of such activities.

Members interviewed, generally pointed out that most teachers who visited their homes were either relatives of the families or were out to look for local gin (waragi). Generally teachers do not appear to be held at high

esteem. Some of the comments made by the respondents indicate this feeling, when asked to give reasons for teachers' inability to explain the IREC concept to the rural members of the community. Some of the comments:

> 'Teachers are careless and do not show themselves as examples to the people, who they are supposed to enlighten'.
>
> 'Teachers are careless people, have many claims and do not cooperate with us'.
>
> 'Teachers and schools are not being inspected by those in authority as in the missionary days. Most of them spend their times drinking.'
>
> 'I think teachers have lost their morale, cannot undertake extra duties because they are poor. Most of them say that they have not earned their salaries for many months'.

Members of the community appear to blame teachers for the failure of education and they blame the government for not providing jobs and general development in rural areas. In this context, teachers have lost ground in terms of respect and status.

Question 27 (see Appendix) asked the respondents to state their views on this matter. 'Are teachers in this community highly respected members of the community? Yes, or no. If no, give reasons'. Every respondent interviewed had something negative to say about teachers in their respective communities. As a result the comments included those who replied 'yes'. Naturally not all teachers are ineffective, there are individual exceptions who may be effective and highly respected.

Table 9.5: REASONS FOR NOT RESPECTING TEACHERS IN THE RURAL AREAS

	REASONS	NO	%
1.	There is no difference between us and the teachers in this community. We are all cultivators.	1	2%
2.	In the past teachers were few in number but were highly respected. Today there are many educated people.	4	8%
3.	Our teachers in the past were well behaved, mature and helpful to the community than the present generation of young teachers who abuse and despise elders.	4	8%
4.	Teachers of today are drunkards and have lost respect of the elders in the rural community.		
5.	The young teachers are careless and are not committed to their work. They have no self-respect.	12	25%
6.	Teachers are no longer smart, they appear dirty in front of pupils and parents.	3	7%
7.	Young teachers often get school girls pregnant.	2	4%
8.	Teachers sell school books and materials and engage in trading and brewing beer for sale.	10	21%

N = 46
% = 100%

There is a relationship between status and respect on one hand and ability to influence others in a specific direction on the other. To this end, teachers appear as we have tried to show, to be less than capable of doing what the project expected of them.

Secondly, members of the community see teachers role as that of

dealing with the young not with adults; rarely do parents interfere in school affairs nor do they listen to their school going children. In this regard, the awareness that members of the community were expected to have would of necessity link IREC to their children not themselves. Indeed most parents saw IREC as part of 'general education' and therefore for the children.

'Awareness' among local leadership is equally unclear. It was claimed by the project experts that chiefs, subchiefs and village elders were invited to attend IRECs workshops and seminars. The invitation was meant to enlist the support of the local leadership and their involvement. But the primary question here was 'at what stage of project development was the local leadership involved? Was the project established in consultation with them and who defined and selected the teachers for project execution?'

Our findings show that chiefs attended those seminars and workshops as passive participants as they could not read, write and speak English. When the 3 chiefs and 3 sub-chiefs involved in IRECs were interviewed, they did not identify with the project. They claimed that during the launching of the project they were not consulted nor asked to express their opinions. They were only invited so that they could allocate land for IREC activities such as agriculture and to attract the rural masses.

The chiefs were there to take part in a project which they had no notion of. The policy decisions, implementation procedures, and selection of project teachers were matters that were dealt with at high levels. In a sense chiefs were being used to give a seal of acceptance which would give the project the image of popular support and participation.

There was a general consensus among the chiefs about the value of the project to the members of the rural community. But were skeptical about the teachers whom one of the chiefs claimed 'the good teachers of the past have gone, what we have today is a group of people who pretend to be teachers. We know them'. The skepticism about the role of teachers in IRECs

project is apparent, when members of the community were asked to indicate the IREC activities initiated by teachers in which they were involved.

5. COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN TEACHER INITIATED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Involvement in community development tasks initiated by IREC teachers provide a measure of teachers' effectiveness, and project acceptance by the rural people. It was assumed that involvement in an activity implies interest in and some degree of acceptance of the activity in question. It represents the stage beyond awareness when the individual concerned is curious to know about new things or feels a need to belong by doing what others are doing or simply to identify with the majority.

How did the respondents react to activities initiated by IREC teachers? Question 14 of the questionnaire (see appendix) asked, 'Have you ever participated in any of the following IRECs activvities?' Yes or No?

Table 9.6: MEMBERS INVOLVED AND NOT INVOLVED IN IRECs ACTIVITIES

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	YES	NO	TOTAL
1. Group discussions	12	34	46
2. Field trips	2	44	46
3. Community meetings	6	39	46
4. Demonstration classes	2	44	46
5. Literacy classes	11	34	46
6. Building community centre	-	-	46
7. Fencing water at the source	-	-	46
8. Making green manure	5	41	46
9. Measure to stop soil erosion	1	45	46
10.Making poultry shed	2	44	46
11.Making egg nests	-	-	46
12.Demonstration of cooking food	3	43	46
13.Preservation of food	1	-	46
14.Filtering water		45	46

A large majority of the respondents did not participate in any teacher initiated community development activities. In terms of frequency distribution, our data shows that 11 (25%) of the members attended 'many times'; 8 (18%) a few times and 27 (57%) never attended any of these activities.

The few who attended some of these sessions reported that they were instructed to do so by various government officials, such as the district agricultural officer, the doctor and the UNESCO project experts. Those who did not get involved, were asked to give some reasons. Ten members claimed that they were not informed about IRECs project, 6 knew nothing about IRECs, 7 claimed that teachers did not go to them, and five because they were not selected.

Degree of participation and commitment by members of the community in IREC activities was measured in terms of membership, regular/irregular attendance, committee membership and holding an office. Respondents were asked to indicate their responsibilities by ticking relevant sections. The responses showed that few were members and that attendance was irregular. Those who were members (13) and attended some of these IREC activities said that these meetings usually lasted for two to three hours and were held sometimes on Mondays or Wednesday evenings. Other members claimed that they could not attend IREC meetings and other activities because 'they had other things to do', 'the meeetings were held at wrong times of the day when everybody had become tired after a hard day's work'. One of the unique features of the rural people is not to show open resistance to any activities initiated from the outside but to avoid it by giving excuses without showing hostility.

It would appear that the project was not sufficiently localized to attract the rural people. Participation would tend to hinge on a number of pre-requisites which in this case appeared not to have been met. For instance, greater involvement of the community members would among other

things mean their taking part in decision making, implementation procedures and shouldering some of the responsibilities. This would further mean decentralization of central control of education administration and planning with sufficient power sharing, consultation, flow of information from upwards and control of resources. We find no evidence that any decentralization was taking place.

Apart from the chiefs, we asked the 46 respondents whether IRECs was of value to them.

'How useful has IRECs been to you?' Question 26.

Table 9.7

	RESPONSES	NO	%
1.	No idea about IRECs	14	30%
2.	Not useful at all	10	22%
3.	Very useful indeed	10	22%
4.	Could be useful if properly implemented	9	19%
5.	Not practical enough	3	7%
		= 46	100%

At least half of the respondents thought IRECs could be of value. The practical aspect of IRECs and their implementation appear to be the main issues which concerned the respondents.

However, in the absence of the necessary patterns of teacher support services in rural areas such as technical support from government and aid agencies on one hand and training, administrative support, provision of resources and improving teachers' conditions of living on the other, teachers and schools appear unable to attract mass support for rural development

projects. The schools we visited were in poor repair, gloomy and unattractive. One cannot expect much out of such schools except the instructional role expected of them.

Lastly, teachers lacked support from the political leaders both nationally and locally. The main issue would have been to link the IREC concept to a national political philosophy as a mechanism for socialization and mobilization of the rural masses. A philosophy which is nationally accepted and upheld by all without discrimination in which education for rural development has a place and where teachers would be seen playing central roles. Nevertheless, in such an event community needs, aspirations and what the community really needs must be identified in order to avoid resistance from the rural people.

6. ADOPTION OF MODERN SKILLS AND PRACTICES:

One of the tasks assigned to the teacher by IREC project was to introduce modern techniques of farming, health, diet, animal husbandry and poultry keeping practices. The method adopted was observation based on a check list supplemented by questions. As noted earlier, Maridi has a rich agricultural countryside where a variety of food and cash crops grow.

The project's main aim has been to increase the productivity of the peasants and encourage them to grow certain cash and food crops for the market and improve rural diet. In this way, the rural people would become integrated into the modern cash economy. It was believed that an integrated approach such as one like IRECs would achieve such an objective by drawing on the support of other agencies to provide technical assistance.

Despite the fact that many government departments became involved in IREC activities such as free supply of seeds, low cost agricultural tools and free technical advice, their efforts remained essentially at the district level and uncoordinated at the village levels. It is at this level that teachers faced their most difficult problems of lacking support, and technical guidance.

There were no incentives, credit and marketing facilities for farmers. Transport problems still remain unresolved. Modern techniques of farming was hence introduced under conditions which made it difficult to adopt.

Near the town where transport is less of a problem, cotton, coffee, and maize were grown according to government agricultural specifications. Since it is in the interest of the government to increase productivity of these three cash crops, the highest priority has been given to research, control and supervision by agricultural extension officers. It is here that one sees the adoption of modern techniques in farming. IREC played no role in these activities.

Similarly, such methods as crop spacing, lining, using improved seed varieties and seed nurseries are widespread in growing vegetables but not staple food stuffs which are grown extensively. Community reasons for not adopting modern agricultural practices for staple food stuffs are similar to reasons given by teachers (see chapter VIII). Such as lack of hybrid seeds, there is no guarantee that seeds are viable, cereal seeds are too small for spacing and lining and it will waste a lot of time.

Members claimed that they did not adopt the recommended practices, not because they were unwilling, but because they did not have the resources needed. Basically lack of money is the main constraint but equally true, is the fact that most rural people are used to the traditional practices and the crops they grow. Few members have the inspiration to see beyond their daily needs. As long as their stomachs have been taken care of that is good enough for them.

One important feature of the rural people which outsiders rarely understand is that they are very cautious about risk. They are generally slow in adopting new practices until they have observed success elsewhere. In this context, too, they don't trust outsiders, the success of such a practice has to come from within, either a relative, neighbour or someone they have known and trusted. It is such people that they follow. Such men are to be found

among local church leaders, retired teachers and government officials but occasionally one does come across an innovative person who is illiterate.

Members of the rural community appear not convinced about the new methods they were asked to adopt. Indeed some of the modern practices were seen as ineffective. For instance, peasant farmers saw no need to keep records. Food grown is for the family collectively. They said, "why should we keep records when there is little to record?" Indeed, the average farm size in the district ranged between 2-3 acres, on which food crops are grown, for their own consumption. Family labour is the normal practice.

The question of 'surplus' only becomes a concern where there develops a need such as school fees. In the traditional rural areas the main concern is to feed one's family the whole year round without going begging for food. One may not have a bicycle, radio or clothes, but so long as he fulfills this demand he is a successful and respectable member of the community. Though the demands for young children is increasingly forcing parents to grow surplus crops, this has not made 'record keeping' seem relevant.

Likewise a successful wife or mother is one who could estimate the quantity of food that would last the family until the next harvest season. So far they have been successful in this regard without keeping records. Other problems such as mixed cropping, units of measure, and seasonal harvesting times of different crops, make it difficult for peasants to keep records, as they aim only at feeding themselves.

Adoption of modern practices in health, diet and animal husbandry are equally beset with problems. The comments made show an indifferent attitude towards the IREC innovation. It could be that traditional practices which have sustained the people for generations have their justifications. They may at first sight appear unscientific but their proven usefulness is what really matters. Some comments illustrate these justifications:

> 'Our present practice of waste disposal is good enough for it dries easily, adds to land as manure and provides food for chickens'.
>
> 'Why should we build toilets when we got along very well without these in the past'.
>
> 'Why should we keep goats, sheep and chickens in enclosures when they help to enrich the farm lands?'

It would appear that much can be learned from traditional ways of doing things rather than simply ignoring them and trying to change them without understanding the reasons why they persist. Given the adverse current circumstances of the peasants, the traditional strategies seem very appropriate.

A pre-requisite to rural development in Maridi district is the need to improve infrastructure and social services to relieve constraints on labour and agricultural productivity. Health, roads, appropriate technologies, marketing, credit facilities and technical advice are the key areas.

The incidence of disease is high in the district particularly in the rainy season. Diseases have adverse effects on labour productivity. The most widespread are malaria, tuberculosis, sleeping sickness, gastroenteritis, malnutrition and other communicable endemic and epidemic diseases.

The majority of the people have no access to health services, teachers included. Many suffer from diseases due to water contamination, poor hygiene environment, inadequate vaccinations, poor nutrition and above all, ignorance. The basic problem affecting the alleviation of some of these health hazards appear to be educational more than socio-cultural and absolute lack of supplies of medical services. Indeed there are taboos associated with food, child-rearing, pregnancy, and the linking of certain diseases like leprosy with spirits. In an essence education can solve problems in health,

agriculture, nutrition and better understanding of endemic and communicable diseases on one hand and acquisition of new ideas and adoption of new attitudes.

For instance, it is common to find people sharing one room, eating from one dish, using the same mug, habits which are liable to spread diseases. But then teachers themselves follow the same practices. Teachers did not succeed in bringing about change because they lack the skills for medical work, they have poor living conditions, cannot afford modern amenities. Above all, the dimension of the problems far out weigh the resources at the teachers' disposal.

A number of concluding remarks can be made. First, teachers are not influential in the rural community. There is widespread dislike of teachers, particularly of the young ones. The older members of the community complain about the poor moral standard of young teachers such as lack of self-respect, indecent and disorderly behaviour associated with drunkeness are the main complaints.

Secondly, some people particularly the more progressive farmers, have low regard for teachers. The local traders who are also farmers, point to the teachers poor living conditions. Such people hardly approach teachers for help and advice. In fact teachers depend heavily on them for loans of money and essential commodities such as sugar, tea, salt and soap to be paid when teachers' salaries arrive. Teachers have been reported to be heavily in debt to many such local traders, and it could be that the presence of such local traders undermines the status of the teachers.

Teachers are therefore poor intermediaries through which the masses can be made aware and more responsive to a project. Local chiefs, retired civil servants, the first generation of teachers plus local church leaders who command respect in the local community are probably better equipped for creating awareness and bringing about change through such projects as change agents.

CHAPTER TEN

IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATED RURAL EDUCATION CENTRE'S PROJECT IN MARIDI DISTRICT

1. INTRODUCTION:

Attempts at rural development with an integrated-decentralized approach, using rural primary school teachers as change agents and encouraging community participation are recent in Sudan. The strategy raises a number of pre-requisites for successful implementation of such a project as IRECs.

(a) To what extent has decentralization of central control of education administration and planning with sufficient power sharing, consultation, flow of information from bottom upwards and control of resources been achieved?

(b) What mechanisms for integration and coordination of rural development activities of various ministries and agencies exist; and to what extent have they been used to the benefit of the project?

(c) What mechanisms exist in the rural community for successful mobilization of the community members for effective participation in the project?

(d) What political support was given to the project and the teachers involved?

(e) To what extent was the project objectives in harmony with the community's expectations and aspirations?

(f) What are the desirable characteristics of teachers as change agents in rural areas?

(g) What are the necessary patterns of teacher support services in rural areas in terms of training, administrative support, provision of materials and teachers' conditions of service?

The main thesis of this chapter is that in order for teachers and community participation to occur, profound reforms affecting both central and local power centres should have been introduced involving changes in planning and general administration, in structure, and management of schools, control of certain resources and reduced central government interference in local government affairs.

2. IMPLEMENTATION OF MARIDI IREC PROJECT

The project policy documents made provisions for a five-year trial period from 1978 to 1982, with the first year devoted to such groundwork as training of project teachers, headmasters of the selected pilot schools, and curriculum development. There were four main elements of the Maridi IREC project:

(i) development of a new primary school curriculum which was to be environmentally oriented and community based.

(ii) organizing a teacher training and retraining programme for pilot teachers and headmasters.

(iii) development and implementation of community education centres.

(iv) development of the institutional framework such as demonstration units, farms, laboratories, primary health care units, and workshops for vocational training (IREC/FIT,CDCM, 1982).

Three international experts were recruited for this project. One for Women's Education, the other for Non-Formal Education and the third for Basic and Primary Education. A National counterpart was appointed for each expert to carry on with the work of the project when their international partners leave at the end of their contracts.

The project was scheduled to start in January 1978, but suffered delays. For instance, the UNESCO specialist for Non-Formal Education arrived in December 1979, the second for Basic and Primary Education reported in the middle of January 1980 (MCDC/IREC/FIT/1982) two years late. The third, the specialist for Women's Education though arrived in Maridi in December 1978, resigned soon after and no replacement was sought throughout the life span of the project. Hence the Maridi project started functioning from January 1980.

The delay has been justified on the grounds that it took long to prepare the dossiers of foreign applicants, inform the successful applicants, orientations and to make contracts and departure arrangements. There therefore appears to be less consultation between the government of the Sudan and UNESCO, lack of government control over the experts was the ultimate result. The project was left in the hands of experts and to their own devices.

It is important that the government should have developed a well-articulated programme of action to be followed by the experts, with sufficient supervision by the national government. However, the general lack of such controls, raises the question why in the first instance such development ideas and projects are entertained! This is a question of great concern to most developing countries which accept aid: Why do developing countries seek outside aid projects which lead to mere waste of resources and add to heavy foreign debts? Sudan currently has a foreign debt of 12 billion dollars and is unable to pay.

The delays in planning and implementation create gaps in conception, design and implementation between the original planners and later implementers of the project plans. This is very clear in the conception and implementation of IRECs. For instance, the international experts did not conceive IRECs as an 'ideal type of primary school in a rural setting' but as a 'centre in the rural area where school going children, illiterate youths and adults would learn various skills for development'. The latter is how the Sudanese officials perceived IRECs.

The project projection (FIT/507/1978) was that by 31st May 1982, the following should have been accomplished:

(a) Preparation of detailed programmes, materials and teaching methods for IRECs, which will cater for children enrolled in primary schools, young people out of school and adults who are mostly illiterate. This will include specific programmes in rural health, agriculture and home economics.

(b) Defining in practical way the coordination of inputs into IRECs at district and local levels, from the various ministries involved in rural development.

(c) Assisting in defining the programmes of in-service and eventually pre-service training of IRECs teachers and instructors.

(d) Acquiring grassroots experience of converting existing primary schools into an IRECs type of institution. (FIT/507/1978).

The projects' immediate objectives to be implemented by the UNESCO experts and their local counterparts became: (ED/OPS/1979):

(a) Developing a new primary school curriculum with environmental bias.

(b) Development and production of appropriate curriculum materials for the new programmes of teachers and pupils.

(c) In service and pre-service training of selected teachers.

(d) Selection of three pilot primary schols as IRECs schools

The translation of the theoretical concepts of IRECs into practical programs was hardly successful, the coordination of inputs, integration of inter-departmental activities, training and retraining of teachers were inadequately accomplished. In short, the gap between theory and practice remained far wide apart.

3. DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING THE PROJECT IDEAS:

The development of the new IRECs curriculum for Basic and Primary Education plus the Non-Formal education programme were based on two surveys conducted by the experts to ascertain the needs and problems of the rural community. This was carried out simultaneously with the in-service training of the selected pilot school teachers and their headmasters.

The basic principles for selecting IREC teachers and hence their training programme should reflect rural community needs for a better life and help them to grasp and understand the guiding philosophy and objectives of their future work as well as acquire the skills necessary for that work. According to Project Document (ED-82/SW/55/82,p.46) the selection of IREC teachers should require that they have been trained and acquired good experience in teaching, be keen and inventive in carrying out the programmes, have acquired different skills which together would enable them to implement the various programmes and accomplish the different tasks. They should also have had further courses in one or more of the following;

(i) Rural Education and training.

(ii) Community Development and literacy and Adult Education.

(iii) Fine Art and Crafts.

(iv) Home Economics and Nutrition.

(v) Music, Dance and Drama.

(vi) Physical Education Course.

(vii) Technical and Vocational Course.

(viii) Primary School Teachers' Special Course for upgrading.

Our findings show that guiding principles were far too ambitious. The field data indicates that most teachers were not trained in the courses outlined above. Those who claimed to have been trained were subject oriented and lacked practical skills and experience. During the interview with the UNESCO specialist for Basic and Primary Education who had become a senior lecturer in the University of Juba, College of Education, he pointed to the

poverty of academic background, professional training and pedagogic skills among our primary school teachers. In the end the specialists simply selected teachers who were teaching within the radius of Maridi township. It was therefore not surprising that those who were selected lacked the abilities to perform community development tasks.

Teacher selection for community development work should have taken account of the individual characteristics of teachers: personality orientation to community, teacher's perception of their role and teacher's status and prestige in the community. In fact the project was left in the hands of people who were not in position to exercise adequate influence in the community nor command the respect of the people.

The new curriculum was derived from a number of sources. First two surveys were conducted using structured and non-structured interviews administered to a wide range of people in and around the project centre. It included members of the community, chiefs, sub-chiefs, family heads, farmers, parents and government officials. The intention was to ascertain the needs, problems and to gain an insight into the community so as to relate the curriculum as closely as possible to the environment and the daily life of the people. The survey seems to have been adequate as judged from the quality of the curriculum produced. But it is one thing to design a curriculum, and quite another to implement it effectively.

Counterparts and selected project teachers were involved in this exercise as part of their training program. The data were analysed at Maridi by the UNESCO experts. Much of the work seemed to have been done by the experts, who found themselves surrounded by untrained counterparts and teachers who were unfamiliar with survey research techniques.

The three national counterparts were secondary school graduates (12 years of general education) while the UNESCO experts were University graduates. One held a PhD and the other a B.Ed degree from Makerere University in Uganda (Mr Paul Balyajusa). In this context, the term 'counterpart' ceases to

have any meaning as the least educated Sudanese partners could not match the UNESCO experts. Hence what was decided to be included in the curriculum was left in the hands of the experts and reflected what they thought fit for the people in rural areas.

It was reported (CTED/1981) that 90 per cent of the traditional curriculum was retained and new additions were made. New subjects which previously were not included were added, such as Earning a Living and Operating a Household. Traditional subjects like History, Geography and Civics were incorporated into Social Studies. It is not entirely clear what the new curriculum was intended to achieve since no substantial changes were made in the examination system, increased school provisions, quality of the teaching and learning process and appropriate training of the teachers.

Curriculum planning is not an easy task. The matter was further complicated by vague definitions of the type of curriculum to be produced In this regard, basic information about school statistics, present practices in schools, information about children, teachers and their community orientation and general information about the socio-cultural, economic and political structure of the community is fundamental. Given the short project period, and the late arrival of experts at the project centre, much basic information was ignored. Priority was placed on training of projects teachers and on hasty curriculum production.

Curriculum design and production was carried out in a series of seminars and workshops which turned out to be a set of intensive training sessions run by the experts for their Sudanese counterparts and selected teachers. A system of panels of 'subject experts' would have been more appropriate in constructing the curriculum. It is sad, that the experts chose to dominate and to work with poorly educated teachers in this important area without involving personnel from the College of Education, University of Juba, Yambio Agricultural Institute and Amadi Rural Development Centre. All these institutions are within reach of Maridi by car and would have given valuable

expertise since most of their staff are well trained, indigeneous and familiar with rural environment. By and large what emerged as the new curriculum was what the UNESCO experts' vision of what 'society they would like to see in the Maridi district'.

The seminars and workshops for curriculum construction were carried out in a series: The Non-Formal Education staff organised three seminars on agriculture between August 25th and 27th 1980, on Community Development and Cooperation from October 28th to 30th, and on Health Education between November 12th and 15th 1980 (CTED, op.cit 1982).

The Basic and Primary Education ran courses from 23rd to 27th February 1981 on curricula development, to orientate the IREC teachers and head teachers of the pilot schools. Other seminars were on environmental learning and teaching techniques from 9th to 20th November 1981. A three weeks workshop was organised on Curriculum Materials, content formulation and teaching strategies from 23rd November to 14th December 1981. Apart from the three weeks workshop, all other seminars and workshops were of shorter duration, lasting three to five days. Noting that IRECs and its new curriculum are new developments and realizing that most teachers selected were used to traditional teaching techniques, a four day seminar was inadequate to produce any noticeable and desirable change in methods of teaching and community development tasks.

It was not surprising that in all three pilot schools, IRECs activities had stopped by 1982. Itri primary school still maintains some citrus trees, but the poultry shed had fallen down, the birds contributed by the parents were either dead or parents had taken possession of them. At Mabilindi primary school, the pineapples grown ¾ of a mile away from the school had been overgrown by weeds and some parts destroyed by fire.

In Womens' Education, not much was accomplished. The Women specialist prepared some curriculum materials for Home Economics, then resigned. The local counterpart continued to implement some items of the

curriculum. But, without the support of a UNESCO expert, she was gravely handicapped. She lacked the necessary funds and materials. In the end according to her (Helda Maya), she resorted to using local materials such as making baskets and hand bags from the local plant fibres and reeds since she could not afford to buy large pieces of cloth, embroidery materials and sewing machines. Making baskets and hand bags from local fibres is not an innovation to the rural women in this district. It is not surprising that local women failed to participate effectively in the project as this was not their concept of a project or of development. They would have expected to be taught how to use sewing machines, dress-designs, bakery and the like.

The Non-Formal staff produced a number of handbooks on non-formal education. These were:

(a) IRECs syllabus for Non-formal Education.

(b) Adult Literacy in Baka language parts one and two.

(c) Supplementary materials on health education.

(d) Supplementary materials for Adults on agricultural production.

(e) Key point lessons on Community Development.

(f) Curriculum for pre-vocational aspects of the IRECs project.

(g) Curriculum for pre-service training of IRECs teachers on non-formal education.

In the area of Basic and Primary Education curriculum materials, some in local languages of Mondo, Baka and Awokaya were produced for the first four classes of the primary school. The materials were developed with the aim that for the majority of the pupils in the district, formal education would terminate at the primary school level.

The syllabuses were designed primarily for grades one to four. Yet the syllabus on Operating a Household and Earning a Living would appear to be more realistic and appropriate for the upper primary grades. How much of the new curriculum was implemented? It was only implemented in the IREC primary schools. But even in those schools the teachers had stopped teaching the new

curriculum long before the project came to an end in March 1982.

The success of any curriculum would depend on financial resources available, teachers and community support. Lack of finance contributed greatly to the failure. The Sudanese government's share of the contribution was not made. The Fund-in-Trust paid by the German Government was used to make the experts comfortable in an area where poverty prevailed. A new curriculum requires development of new materials, training and retraining of teachers, new sets of books, and materials all need money. Without adequate financial resources and staff, curriculum change can be reduced to a mockery, as the case was in southern Sudan.

Community support is equally important. At the initiation of the project, the community members were interviewed and chiefs were consulted, but once the curriculum was designed, it was the district education officers and project experts who took charge in deciding which teachers to be recruited and curriculum implementation. Parents did not see themselves as part of the project, as a result there was resistance to the new IREC curriculum.

For instance in 1984, the IREC school at Bahr-Naam had a total enrollment of 85 pupils, by 1985, the enrollment had dropped by half to 44. Parents here prefer to send their children 4 miles to a conventional primary school run by United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) at Affaf.

Another apparent constraint is the lack of consultation between the high ranking administrative officials in the ministry and teachers in the field. The administrative system is still steeply hierachical with little room for teachers' initiative and decision making. Teachers in primary schools do not belong to the decision making machinery. They do not see themselves as part of it either. The result was lack of commitment among teachers to the IRECs curriculum.

One prerequisite for the new curriculum would be reform of examination and evaluation methods, internal administrative systems of schools, school calender and time-table. However, there have been no marked changes in these

areas. Also there have been no significant changes in the policy documents except for the occasional remarks about 'ruralization of curriculum' at the primary level. The new syllabus merely added new subjects on to the old.

4. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The second and most important component of IRECs project which is the central focus of this study is the community development aspect. This component consisted of four main community development tasks under the non formal education programme these are (UNESCO FIT/507/SUD/10, 1978).

(a) Community development and cooperatives.

(b) Adult education and literacy.

(c) Health education.

(d) Agricultural production.

As indicated earlier, the Unesco specialists and their counterparts produced curriculum materials for the non formal component of the project, organized seminars and workshops in order to sensitize the pilot school headteachers and the selected IREC teachers to the importance of integration of their community development activities with the rural members of the community and to introduce them to the strategies to be applied in the execution of project objectives.

The Non-Formal Education staff established in the three pilot primary schools agricultural farms (really gardens) in which they grew vegetables and cash crops as demonstration lessons to the school children and their parents, with the help of the District Agricultural Extension Officer. Poultry breeding was started in two pilot schools with improved breeds supplied by Food and Agricultural Farm near Juba. A workshop was to be established at Itri Primary school but the expected carpenter and Blacksmith never arrived and no attempt was made to recruit local craftsmen as replacements. A dispensary was established with the assistance of Primary Health Care Officer and the District Medical Officer in the premises of IRECs as part of the intended integration

process.

The viablility of IRECs project and the effective involvement of teachers in execution of the project objectives and community participation will depend among other things, on the administrative and institutional framework, established mechanisms for integration and coordination of various organizations involved in rural development, i

mechanisms for community mobilization, the necessary political support and teacher support services. The extent to which these matters were dealt with would provide us with some estimate of success or failure.

5. SURVEY OF MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

The supply and provision of essential material resources at the project site to a certain extent affects the success of the project in question. It has been shown that widespread dissatisfaction among teachers in the rural areas prevailed as a result of inadequate resources to work with. Some of the resources in the schools were worn out, out-dated, and poor in quality. Although IREC schools appear well equipped, the materials, equipment and the buildings caused concern as regard to their relevance. For instance, the materials included imported furniture, farming, cooking and crafts materials and workshop tools. The furniture is good quality European types the kinds one finds in the Institute of Education, University of London quite unlike those found in southern Sudan villages.

The materials had to be purchased outside the Sudan from recommended companies hence indirectly returning a major part of the loan back to the developed countries. The stores contain European cooking pots, plates, utensils, garden tools, spades, electric appliances such as drills, planes, and cookers, but the centre has no electricity. Domestic Science teacher has no calabashes, earthenware pots, spoons or other village cookery equipment. Little use could hence be made of these exotic apparatus among the rural

members of the community nor could teachers themselves, the community members afford to acquire them in their homes.

Although the physical buildings for the IRECs were affected by delay factors, in that they were neither ready by the beginning of the project nor completed by the end of the project period, they were essentially inappropriate to the rural conditions and in contradiction to the very philosophy of IRECs. For one thing, they were imported and therefore expensive in violation of the nationally advocated policy of low cost primary schools. But worst of all, they make a strange contrast with the surrounding huts. The likely effect was to make the local people shy away from these alien physical structures and hence people refused to particpate in many of the centres' activities. In the final analysis, the materials and the equipment provided in the IRECs centres are inappropriate for the purpose of rural transformation. Some of the furniture and equipment for IRECs are still packed at Juba and others transfered to Wan, Malakal and Bahr el Naam. It is however doubtful whether this furniture and equipment will ever be fully utilized for the purpose they were originally planned for.

So far out of fourteen centres selected for IRECs only one at Bahr el Naam was functioning. The others, because of their locational problems such as inaccessibility, water availability or cut off from the main administrative centres by the civil war had made their establishment difficult. The war has also given the contractors an excuse for not observing the contract obligations. The prefabricated materials for the centres brought in by a Portuguese contractor could be seen erected on private holdings totally unconnected with IRECs.

6 TEACHER PROFILE AS RURAL CHANGE AGENTS

As noted earlier, teacher selection was not based on realistic definition of teachers social, educational and professional characteristics. It is here submitted that these factors have adverse effects on teachers' status as

change agents and their ability to influence members of the rural community.

The general education shows the sources from which these teachers were initially recruited. The analysis of primary, junior and secondary school syllabuses showed that they were predominantly urban oriented, not adapted to the rural environment and aimed at preparing them for the modern sector jobs. These teachers therefore completed their general education inadequately prepared for community development work. The schools through which they passed failed to instil in them sympathetic attitudes to the rural environment and masses. Indeed most teachers teach in the rural areas against their will.

Similarly, teacher training institutions are least adapted to train teachers for rural transformation. The subjects Rural Education and Adult Education though appear on college timetables, they are given less time and attention. Lack of materials and equipment rendered training to be theoretical with no practical activities. Teachers are inadequately prepared in terms of pedagogic skills, ill adapted to rural environment to act as change agents.

The training courses for IREC project teachers were of shorter duration than had been planned for, the delay created by late arrival of UNESCO experts affected training programmes. For the purpose of economy of time, much had to be done in haste, taking on too much at the same time. The obvious result was the inadequately trained teachers incapable of acting independently.

7. POLITICAL SUPPORT

Rural development projects need the support of the Government and political leaders both at the national and local levels. IRECs was not backed by any strong political ideology or by committed persons as mechanisms of mobilizations. The lack of political support is shown by the lack of government to offer finance, incentives, regular salaries, running costs, and provision of material resources. To date the government has not provided the necessary funds for IREC project since the departure of the UNESCO experts in May 1982.

Unlike the Kwamisisi project in Tanzania, where top political leaders gave their support through speeches in public rallies and policy statements such as the 'Arusha Declaration', IREC was not subjected to such top level government support. There was no intensive communication exercises in order to mobilize the people and encourage their support and cooperation. As a result there was no driving force behind the project.

IRECs and its teachers remained government responsibilities and the community members played hardly any roles as regards control and administering of the schools. The schools belonged to the government, it selected the teachers and outlined the activities according to the wishes of the government.

In the final analysis the project appeared inadequately planned as is clear from the lack of established village level organs such as village assemblies, councils, and other institutions through which people could have been activated as a group for action in their own development.

8. CONFLICTS OF OBJECTIVES AND PERCEPTIONS

As noted earlier, parents were initially enthusiastic about IREC project for various reasons. First IRECs as a project was seen as an opportunity for jobs, creating modern sector institutions and facilities as those found in urban areas and using exotic materials and equipment. But when these did not happen, the interest and momentum generated waned and it became difficult to rekindle them.

The community did not perceive development in terms of change in attitude, acquisition of modern techniques of doing things and using locally available resources. They saw development in terms of large constructions of raods, industries, agricultural schemes, and use of heavy machineries. The two conceptions of development clearly differed and these further influenced the way the two groups perceived the role of education and those who work as agents of education. To the members of the community, rural primary school

teachers have no place in what they perceive as development, except to prepare their children to enter such modern sectors where technology plays a major role in their lifes.

Teachers on the other hand do see their role in the wider context that of out-reach-community activities. But even here most teachers indicate their role in terms of educatng the masses, through adult and literacy classes, providing information and advisory services. They do not see their role in the technical way, such as agricultural extentionists, health workers, and community development workers. Finally widespread dissatisfaction among them seems to have influenced them negatively.

9. TEACHER INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TASKS

There is no evidence in this research to suggest that teachers are effective agents of rural development. By definition, teacher involvement in community development would mean, participation in decision making, implementation procedures and control of certain resources. The question of resource control is crucial as it indicates the social standing of the agents involved (teachers) in relation to the community and special agenices working outside the educational arena.

In the above context, the main problems appear to be not only organizational but administrative as well. As shown, the administrative structure is still hierarchical with teachers passively waiting for orders and instructions from the above which limits creation of initiative and creativity among teachers. Secondly, material organization in terms of repair of schools, provisions of material resources, furniture, better conditions of services for teachers and professional development all appear poorly coordinated. This has led to inadequate involvement by teachers either in solving these problems or paying greater attention to project implementation. In a sense, it is important that the teachers in order to perform better should not be hampered by these intervening variables or problems.

In some of the casses known to the researcher, three different roles compete for the time of the teacher: the classroom work, the project work and the fact that teachers have to fend for themselves through farming, and other means. Teachers like all other human beings need time for their families, to rest and attend to other personal matters. Clearly too much has been expected of the rural primary school teacher in time and energy.

Another apparent influence on the teacher is the dilemma created in him as a project teacher: where does he put his alligience; to the community which he is part of and fulfill their demands and wishes; if he is also a parent as most of them are, does he satisfy his aspirations for his children; or does he become the agent of the project and the government and encounter community resistance or obey the demands of the community and face government repraisals. The finding here tend to show that teachers chose to be passive and continue to perform their traditional functions of teaching children.

Teacher involvement in community development as I have tried to show in this thesis is a complex concept which is influenced by many factors internal and external to both the school and the community. There is need to take stock of such factors and understand how they influence teacher participation in community development. There is equally the need to define teachers' role in relation to the community and community in terms of its needs, problems and aspirations and how the school and the teachers may help to deal with community interests and conflicts. At the moment there seems to be little understanding between the two. This has inevitably led to the current misunderstanding of what the community really wants in terms of development and using the wrong agents.

Indeed the complex community problem cannot be solved by education or teachers alone. The IRECs proposals for rural development have no real chances of success unless teachers are supported by other agents and if far reaching reforms in social; economic, and political areas have taken place, accompanied

with changes in attitude of the community to perceive education and development in a different way than hither to has been.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE EFFECT OF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF IREC PROJECT IN MARIDI DISTRICT

1. INTRODUCTION:

The extent to which the administrative system and structure and financial arrangements influenced the implementation of IREC is the main focus of this chapter. Prior to 1970, Sudan was a centralized state with all powers vested in the central government in Khartoum. But in 1971, and 1972, attempts to decentralize began to take effect.

In 1971, the People's Local Government Act was passed, which created the People's Provincial Executive Councils (PPEC) as corporate bodies at the provincial level. In 1972, the Addis Ababa Agreement was signed, which was later formulated into the Regional Self-Government Act of 1972, thus creating an Autonomous southern Sudan, within the Democratic Republic of the Sudan.

The outstanding features of the Agreement (1972) and the Act (1971) as they affected southern Sudan with particular reference to education are: First, under the Agreement and the Act, the southerners had their own legislative and executive organs but with powers curtailed. Secondly, the machinery for aappointing the executive body and the head of the council was set up. Thirdly, acceptance of Arabic as the official language of the Sudan and English as the principal language for the south. Fourthly, education planning, Curriculum development, teacher training, national objectives and goals were to remain the responsibility of the central government.

However, the regional assembly in the south was given the duty of establishing and administering schools at all levels in accordance with the national plan; and lastly, the Acts provided for the creation of a regional government with a regional Ministry of Education. Against that background, what follows is an examination of legal and constitutional aspects of education

in the southern Sudan and how they have influenced the implementation of IRECs.

2. CONTROL OF EDUCATION

The relevant provisions of the constitution as regards education are Article 20 which states that:

> Education is an investment in, and an advancement of the individual and society. The state shall plan, supervise and direct education to serve the national objectives.

The national objectives of education, which is the prerogative of the national government, was laid down within the context of Islamic heritage because Sudan had much in common with the Arabic countries of Islamic orient (Bashir, M.O, 1965).

Henceforth, the regional Ministry of Education was expected to implement central government policies, aims and objectives as outlined in chapters I and II. It is however, doubtful whether the southerners were ever consulted about these objectives and aims. The idea was to unify the overall educational system in the country for effective control by the central government.

The Regional Self-Government Act of 1972, has two main provisions which are crucial and controlled positive actions by the regional government. The first is section six of the Act, which states that and repeat:

> Neither the People's Regional Assembly nor the High Executive Council shall legislate or exercise any powers on matters of national nature which among others includes educational planning.

Secondly, section 10 of the Act states that:

> The People's Regional Assembly shall legislate for preservation of public order, internal security, efficient administration and development of the southern region in cultural, economic, and social fields and in particular in the establishment, maintenance and administration of public schools at all levels in accordance with the national plans for education and economic and social development.

On reading section 6 of the Act, it is clear that both the Regional Assembly and the High Executive Council are prohibited from legislating or exercising any powers on educational planning and socio-economic planning. This sub-provision in itself covers all aspects of development and has greatly paralysed the actions of the regional government. In the context of educational planning, teacher training and curriculum development, the regional Ministry of Education had to rely on the central government for both directives and supervision.

3. FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The question of finance remains central in all the issues of development. No educational plans, programmes and projects can be implemented if the government does not control sources of revenue. The sources of raising revenue for the region have been spelled out in the Act as follows:

(i) Direct or indirect regional taxes.

(ii) Contribution from people's Local government councils.

(iii) Revenue from commercial, industrial and agricultural projects in the region in accordance with the national plans.

(iv) Funds from the national treasury for established services.

(v) Funds voted by the People's National Assembly in accordance with the requirements of the region.

(vi) The special development budget for southern region, as prescribed by the People's Regional Assembly for the acceleration of economic and social advancement of the southern region as envisaged in the declaration of the 9th of June, 1969.

(vii) Revenue to be determined in a special schedule attached to a finance law.

(viii) Any other source.

Henceforth the budget for the southern region became the responsibility of the High Executive Council which coordinated the various regional ministerial budgets. The regional Ministry of Finance became the administrative organ to which all regional Ministries submitted their annual budgets and from which all finances were distributed. The Financial Ministry was through the High Executive Council answerable to the Central or National Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in Khartoum.

However, the sources of local revenue from the region as prescribed by the constitution and the Acts remained dubious, since the region was and is still one of the poorest parts of the country. These sources proved not to be effective means of generating revenue. On the whole local revenue remained low. As a result the large part of the regional budget came from the National treasury under the control of the Council of ministers in Khartoum. The main items of expenditure were the established services, education, health, and development projects under the national development plan approved in Khartoum.

Primary and junior secondary schools construction was to be the responsibility of the central government. Funds for such schools were provided under the consolidated fund to the provincial councils (Annual Budget Speech, 1978/79). Such funds were to be administered by the Provinical Commissioners and district administrations in addition to what the provinicaal and district councils could collect in terms of taxes.

To a greater extent, all the educational costs came from the central government, despite the fact that the High Execuitve Council could impose regional taxes on incomes, trade and industrial products which would be in addition to taxes imposed on the local government councils. There were practical difficulties in the way of assessing the various taxes assigned to the region. There was no satisfactory machinery in the region and in the central government to record the flow of the exciseable goods from the north to the south. Tax evasions were hard to control. There was hardly any products of the region which could be exported; therefore revenue from these sources remained negligible and unreliable (Southern Region, The Six Year Plan, 1977/78-1982/82).

Apart from the various taxes assigned to the regional government, various ministries raised revenue by charging fees from the services rendered by them for goods sold by them. It was stated in the six year plan that:

> The revenue raised in the above manner, referred to as regional revenue are not adequate to maintain the services and personnel. The Regional Government accordingly receives grants-in-aid every year to meet the cost of established services at the regional and provincial government levels. (p.53)

The financial provisions in the self-government act of 1972, and supplemented by the Presidential decree number 39 affected educatioin development in many ways. Apart from lack of regular payment of teachers' salaries, there was loss of teachers by the regional Ministry of Education to other departments (Juba, 12/3/78). There was also differential educational expenditure between urban and rural areas.

A major reason for these financial problems in primary and junior secondary schools, was that these institutions were the responsibilities of the local authorities (The People's Local Government Act, 1971) as such were

subject to the vagaries of weak administration and uncertain financing. The funds available for quantitative improvement of the schools were gravely inadequate.

4 EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION

In accordance with the government policy to decentralize the administration of education as far as possible in the interest of efficiency, effectiveness and democratization, the 1971 Act empowered the provinces with the following functions in education:

> Establishment and maintenance of primary, general and high secondary for girls and boys with boarding houses and hostels. (p.21).

Part II sub-section II of the same Act states that, 'the province is responsible for the establishment, preparation and administration of boys clubs, adult literacy classes and assistance of private schools. While sub-section IV of the same Act empowered the province with grants of financial aids for poor students and of scholarships to brilliant students, study of education surveys, preparation and implementation of education plans; the establishment and adminstration of kindergartens and taking of any other measures which may consolidate the aims of education (op. cit., 1971 Act).

Under this Act, the administration of primary and junior secondary schools is the responsibility of the province and district councils. Schools at these levels are therefore not under the control of regional Ministry of Education but of regional Ministry of Administration with a separate budget (Local Government Act, 1971).

Education administration in the provinces is controlled through an Assistant Commissioner for Education, supervised by the Province Council. Further responsibility at district level is vested in the district Council, through a District Director for Education who is the representative of the regional Ministry of Education. At the rural or village levels, the rural council

is expected to control these schools. The rural council provision to control education has not been implemented for reasons of lack of finance and trained manpower.

The effects of the division of responsibilities in education between the various administrative organs, is that there are no well defined responsibilities and areas of control. This is more so at the regional level, where primary and junior schools are the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Administration through the Provincial Councils. The provinces lack of services of trained educationalists, and lack of finance further weaken the effectiveness of the decentralization policy. Furthermore, most education officers in the provinces tend to look more to the regional Ministry of Education to settle their myriad problems rather than the regional Ministry of Provincial Administration.

Further problems arise as regards issuing and taking of commands. For instance, the Assistant Commissioner for Education (Province Education Officer) receives orders from three sources: the Regional Ministry of Education, the Regional Ministry of Provincial Adminisstration and the Provincial Commissioner who is the chief administrator of the province. This is equally true of the District Director of Edcucation, (District Education Officer) who is answerable to the Provincial Administration and he still depends on the Ministry of Education for his promotion, transfer, and training.

One factor which has greatly affected the effectiveness of the division of educational administration or decentralization is the internal civil strife. The long years of hostilities between the north and the south, destroyed all impetus for economic development, and left the south with few southern trained and experienced administrators both at regional and provincial levels. The granting of a large measure of autonomy to the south, though acceptable, has brought about the need to create an administrative organization at Ministry level in the region for which there was little previous foundation.

The administration procedures, themselves a hang-over from earlier times, are not adequate and not geared to cope with the exact needs of the present times, when public awareness and demand for governement services have vastly increased thereby adding to the difficulties of an administration already confronted with chaotic conditions, disruptive services and a dearth of officials experienced in administrative procedures. The administrative vagaries are also inherent in educational administration. A senior official in the regional Ministry of Education wrote that;

> To sustain growth and development in education in the region, it is a condition sine quo-non that there shall be an adequate and efficient educational administration capable of planning, servicing and monitoring the educational growth and change---. The present educational administration organization hardly matches up to these requirements (Six Year Development Plan, 1976).

5. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING OF IRECs

As noted in chapter II, the administration of IRECs was the responsibility of the Inter-Ministerial Committee in the Centre, which is responsible for policy making, top level decisions and collaboration with aid agencies. The IREC unit in the Central Ministry of Education was responsible for the execution and supervision of the policies laid down by the inter-ministerial committee.

There were to be a Project Coordination Committee and a local Coordination Committee as outlined in Chapter II. The administrative structure and financial administration raise many questions. First administrative structure remained hierarchical where decisions and directives flowed from the top downwards, with powers centralized in a central authority in the capital. Project officials had to wait for decisions to

be made in the capital before implementation could take place, hence creating gap between decisions and implementation process.

For instance the decision to appoint a project director for Maridi IRECs had to be made in Khartoum before the regional government could act. As a result the director was appointed as late as 1981. Hence there was a lack of leadership within the programme (UNESCO, Paris, 1982). The international experts had to spend valuable time in providing accommodation for themselves. In the event, the two international experts could have filled the leadership vacuum by encouraging the initiative of the national director and counterparts. But the absence of a team leader among them was a regretable failure which did not allow this to happen (UNESCO, 1982).

There was very little follow up by the Ministry of Education which itself needed strengthening and due to misunderstanding with regard to responsibility and so the project suffered severely from lack of leadership. The regional budget of the IREC ws not submitted during the 1981/82 budget approval exercise because of the same reason given above (UNESCO, Paris, 1982).

It was reported (UNESCO, Paris, 1982) that in January 1982, all schools, including IRECs were closed because of a strike called by teachers who had not received their salaries. The IREC Evaluation Mission, (May 1982) noted that no action had been taken to deal with the problem for a long time. As a result, the report noted, 'the Maridi IREC Development Programme was cut off from any action base and no testing could be done on the curriculum prepared (p.5)'.

The intended committees were never formed in Maridi. There is no evidence of any meetings, no reports or minutes. It was clear that IRECs survived throughout its implementation period without the support of these committees. As a result IRECs depended too much on the international experts, who on their own part were willing to control and direct the project.

The Report of the Tripartite Review and Evaluation Mission (1982) pointed out that the IREC Development Programme required local coordination of functions. Coordination should deal with problems within the various departments and aid agencies involved in rural development. This has not been the case in southern Sudan.

The report concluded by noting that 'little has been achieved so far in coordinating the various services offered by the government and in setting up local committees to initiate and implement their own programmes (p.4)'. Certainly such programmes can only become dynamic and effective when there is greater decentralization, delegation of authority and popular participation of community members in the programme.

There was lack of clear overall control of the project. In the 1975 National Development Plan, IRECs was designated as a World Bank Project with National Status. But the actual execution, control and funding were left in the hands of the Rural Council and the UNESCO experts. Due to financial constraints, low educational backgrounds of the counterparts and rural council officials, the UNESCO experts emerged as the dominant figures in the project who controlled both finance and the resources provided by the external donor.

During the interview, the National Counterparts complained about their relationships with the experts. It was clear they were not involved nor informed about major issues of the project. All decisions were made by the two experts. The annual budget or expenditures were neither made available to the national counterparts nor their terms of contracts. The general administration was the sole responsibility of the experts. As a result the experts knew when the funds were running out and got out in time without ceremonious departure.

At the time of the field work (1984), the counterparts were still expecting the experts to return to Maridi for official handover. By then the Indian had left the country and the Ugandan had been appointed an Associate

Professor of Education in the University of Juba. Clearly the project lacked leadership who could have controlled and hence avoided such irresponsible behaviours.

Another example shows how the aid (560,000 US $) was spent. The expatriates were given one large semi-derelict bungalow. The costs of refurbishing and furnishing was put at 50,000 US $ with a further 20,000$ for basic furniture, most of which was imported from Kenya (IREC/FIT/507/SUD/10,1979). A generator for supply of power to the house cost 15,000$, fuel for generator at 13,000$ per year. The intention was to make the experts as comfortable as possible. While the counterparts lived in their grass thatched huts erected by themselves, on this own private lands outside the IREC quarters. The experts had a landrover for their daily use, while counterparts used their personal bicycles.

Finally, the Sudanese financial administration was both complex and inefficient, which affected the Sudanese staff adversely. Sudan claims to have adopted a decentralization policy as exemplified in a number of Acts such as the 1971, Regional Government Act, 1972, Addis Ababa Agreement and the 1972, Local Government Act. But the centre still exercises overall powers over matters such as finance, foreign aid, and local finance sources.

The financing of IRECs was subject to similar administrative controls. The funds for IRECs were controlled by two independent bodies: the Sudan Government contribution was held by the Central Government in the Ministry of Finance. The 560,000 US $, by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Khartoum, and released to IRECs through UNDP sub-office in Juba. The UNDP office in Juba released the funds only on the demands of the experts for financing the items laid down in the agreement. Hence, the UNESCO cash flow was not held back by rigid administrative procedures as was the case with Sudanese remittance. The main problem with UNESCO fund was that the counterparts were neither involved in its requisition nor administration.

In the Sudanese case, IRECs Funds had to be released from the Central treasury to the Regional Government treasury after request from the relevant regional authorities. The system is as follows. The director of IRECs would make request for finance to the Regional Ministry of Education, which after approval would request the same from the Regional Ministry of Finance and depending on availability of cash, it would be released to the Regional Ministry of Education who then passes it to the director of IRECs through the Provincial administration and the district authorities.

The primary school level and this includes IRECs, represents the lowest level of educational hierarchy in administrative terms. IRECs was administered as a general primary school with no special status. In the Sudan and according to the Peoples' Local Government Act, 1971, Part II, primary schools are the direct responsibility of the province and district authorities, therefore not under the control of regional Ministry of Education but regional Ministry of Administration, Police and Prisons. At the rural level the rural council is entrusted with this responsibility. IREC teachers were therefore under the control of district or village councils and depend on these bodies for their salaries, maintenance of schools and provision of materials.

The effects of these various administrative organs, is that there were no well defined responsibilities and areas of control. As a result IREC schools were not repaired, teachers were not given special project status but expected to do more work. The fact that the district and village administrations depend for most of their funds on what revenues they could raise from local taxes, and the fact that there was virtually nothing to be taxed as a result of lack of economic development; district and rural councils had their hopes pinned on IREC project to improve and maintain these schools, pay teachers' salaries, as part of Sudan Government's contribution to the project.

The annual grants-in-aid from the central government to the region and provincial adminstrations often were manipulated first at the regional level

and then at the province level. The Report on the Colloquium held on the 27th and 28th October 1983 (UNDP/DTCD 83/002, 1983) reported that:

> The councils at the district and sub-district levels, in the majority of cases, existed without Warrants of Establishment and hence without clear authority, responsibilities and financial powers and resources.

This allowed the Commissioner and senior officials to use or misuse these councils and the funds as they deemed fit.

Local Government finances and financial mangagement, throughout the life of the IREC project, was problematic. Financial viability is an essential pre-requisite of an effective administrative and political decentralization. If devovled units like local governments with responsibilities to education projects at the grassroot levels, are not given adequate fund raising (funds) powers to discharge their duties, they run the risk of responsibility without resources.

The grants, therefore, remained the major source of revenue. IRECs at Maridi unfortunately received any special financial sanctions from the Regional Government. Hence, the project could not continue when the external funds ran out. The financial bottleneck and the complex administrative systems have to a great extent hampered IREC development and progression into the second phase.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION:

The primary aims of this study have been to investigate the role of rural primary school teachers in the Integrated Rural Development project in Southern Sudan; to investigate major operational constraints which affected teachers' involvement in the execution of the project and to consider implications for future development in Southern Sudan and in other developing countries.

As noted, considerable attention is being given by national governments, bilateral and international agencies to measures to improve education in rural areas, and to better integrate schools with other social and economic development activities. At the centre of these rural development strategies is the notion of greater teacher and community participation.

For the purpose of this study a 'change agent' has been defined as a catalyst, who identifies community problems and needs, suggests solutions, helps design programmes of action, helps community members implement these programmes and is capable of suggesting modifications.

2. TEACHERS' POTENTIAL IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

An important finding of this study with respect to teachers as change agents is that there are significant differences in the educational backgrounds of the teachers in Southern Sudan. As a result they differ also in their potentials for acting as change agents. It has to be emphasised that teachers have potential to work in the community, but their role must be carefully defined and their teaching made more relevant to the community.

On the one hand, there are many young untrained teachers who are reluctant to work in rural areas, and who teach because it is the only available job. On the other hand, there are some older and more experienced teachers who seem more committed to staying in rural areas and who are also better integrated into the local community. The latter may have more potential as change agents, but they are few in number; they could still be used as resource persons in advising young teachers on ways to link school and community. Despite in-school constraints such as teaching loads, levels of responsibility, extra-curricula duties, it seems important that greater attention should be given to planning the teacher's role, enhancing their status and supporting their activities with improved provision of school material resources.

Despite the apparent failure of the IREC project, a number of

lessons can be learned. First, what kind of teachers do we need? This study attempted a systematic mapping of teachers profiles in terms of their social and educational settings, as a prelude to analysing the actual processes by which teachers could influence the community and thus play a change agent role.

The pre-conditions for teacher leadership and influence in the community, as suggested by this study, is 'power' - the ability to influence decisions and exercise control over scarce resources. But teachers will only exert influence when they enjoy high status and respect in the community. Rondinelli and Ruddle (1978: p.98) have also noted that in many developing countries 'sharp or rigid inequalities of wealth, power and status within the community are not conducive to the development of a change agent.'

Several elements in the local social structure constrain this role of rural primary school teachers. Too often the impacts of social and cultural constraints on the teachers in the rural areas have been ignored. So often the imposition of external ideas on the rural people and teachers which have been prescribed as solutions to rural problems have been erroneous and the role that teachers should play has often been exaggerated. Social and cultural dimensions of the rural population should be carefully surveyed, and planning and implementation decisions should be based on the outcome of the survey and views expressed by the teachers

and the rural people themselves.

Widespread dissatisfaction among teachers in respect of the aforesaid factors and financial disadvantages, coupled with lack of support for teachers exemplified in poor working and living conditions, affect their morale. Poor morale generally has adverse influence on the teachers and their relationship with their community.

Our study shows clearly that teachers did not pay proper attention to their community development tasks, as they had to devote much time to fending for themselves and their families. IREC teachers spent little time in the field, hardly organised any community meetings, literacy classes, demonstration classes in agriculture - mainly for lack of time, resources to work with and the poor education and inadequate training they have received in pedagogic skills.

The curriculum designed for IREC schools was to a certain extent adequte in that it took account of some of these issues, but it did not reflect the community needs in totality. Its implementation equally fell short of what was expected. For one thing the curriculum was not oriented to community problems. There was still a wide gap in what the teachers taught in the classroom and what the pupils and their parents practised in their homes. There was therefore a need to relate the curriculum to the needs of the community. What children should learn in the schools should reflect community demands. In practical terms, rural primary schools and

teachers must become centres of influence in the community by encouraging the community's children to apply their skills and knowledge to the surroundings in which they live.

Teachers must be encouraged to use new methods of teaching Mathematics, Geography, History and Sciences - particularly the practical applications of these subjects in the fields of home-life, health, agriculture and the practical work connected with hygiene, health, nutrition and agriculture. There should be two dimensions to each subject - the pupils learn certain knowledge and go on to apply it in practical community-oriented activities. For example a lesson on scale in geography might be followed by a practical session in the field.

Teachers have a central responsibility to the community by becoming community leaders and teachers, but only when the village has some idea of the sort of community projects, i.e. poultry, latrines, gardens, canteens, clean water, they might develop. In essence, we desire a situation where community life begins to revolve around the school and what is taught in the school emanates from the community life.

Raymond Lallez (Goble and Porter, 1977: p.189) noted that 'for an innovation to become established and to achieve its objectives, centres of innovation need to seek out and identify in the environment such elements as may be incorporated in their constructive work.' He pointed out that people who can exert a strong influence on the environment are those who

are established members of their community, desiring to remain and work for its improvement. Such men and women can help to establish an educational network which can transform it firmly.

It is the older, experienced teachers who have established roots in the community who have a role to play. Such older teachers must be encouraged to assist young teachers in becoming better professionals. If older teachers are trained with the community in mind, they would be the permanent intermediaries in the organization of local community activities. This is also clear in the aims of the Cianjur project in Indonesia (Hawes, 1982).

The Cianjur project aimed at improving the professional support to primary teachers and encouraging staff clubs in which teachers and heads were specially trained as club leaders, and where models of good practices were set up in more favourable conditions. Special rooms were set aside for meetings and displays of club members' work. The more experienced teachers helped junior and less professional teachers to realise their own potential through their groups, to make schemes of work detailing plans for the coming months, with freedom to use time for activities based on the environment.

Clearly such a project requires constant supervision and monitoring of clubs' work, and on the spot guidance. In the absence of well-trained inspectors and with poorly trained teachers, a greater emphasis has to be

placed on using the experienced teachers and in organising small training sessions in their own local areas with the help of mobile teacher trainers. It is possible to use some insights from this project and a model applied by the Voluntary Service Organization (VSO) in Sokoto State, Nigeria (Cumming, C. 1981). The indications are that with EEC funding, supply of vehicles and safari equipment, VSO could support and organise mobile staff development units for teachers in areas with poor communication systems.

Given the difficulties of communication in Southern Sudan, a mobile staff development unit for teachers would be desirable. However, the wholesale replications or amalgamation of Cianjur and VSO mobile staff development units in rural areas would be unacceptable without modifications to take account of the particular environment.

In terms of Southern Sudan, IRECs perceived as single - primary - schools would be too expensive and administratively difficult to manage. Rather, each district with 10 - 15 primary schools should have one centrally located IREC. It is here that groups of teachers could assemble for in-service training. Priority should be given for training of older teachers, who would return to their respective schools and run a 'club system' with other teachers which would introduce the new ideas. With the support of mobile teacher trainers working with small groups of teachers in each school, it may be possible to evolve a programme of action based on each specific rural environment with its own unique problems.

The main objectives of the mobile staff development should be to create a small group of teachers in each school who can successfully find out more about the environment in which they work. Secondly, they would work with groups of teachers to create curriculum materials, using learning experiences appropriate to the local schools and local environment. Lastly, they might develop leadership qualities in the team leaders and co-operation within the teachers in the club/group.

But what should teachers actually do in the rural environment? Hawes (1976) has suggested three broad areas: (i) collection of data relevant for educational planning, (ii) inventories of learning resources, (iii) studies of the learners. Hawes notes that too often statistical information collected by ministries and schools is insufficient and incomplete, rarely exposing human problems and usually referring to quantitative rather than qualitative aspects of education provision. Hence there is a need to collect more relevant local data about schools and the professional conditions within them.

Syllabuses, book lists and sometimes school timetables are advised by ministries. But each of these has to be worked out within the context of a particular area, school or time of year. In order to maximise use of all the facilities within an area, inventories of learning resources need to be compiled.

Thirdly, studies of the learners are important. Tyler (1949: p.7)

points out that studies of the learners are a necessary background to any effective curriculum development and the profile of the learners and the context in which they learn varies from school to school and from class to class, and, may I add, from one environment to another. It would therefore be more realistic if information could be collected by local teachers. The study of learners should take account of cognitive development, social and cultural background, language, interests, health and nutrition. Such information compiled by local teacher groups would improve and increase the general stock of knowledge available to teachers, curriculum planners and agencies involved in rural development and be a local resource base for dealing with local problems.

As noted in Chapter 10 the implementation of the IREC concept in the Sudan was prohibitively costly, in that much if not all the material resources provided for the centre (electric hand drills, cookers, European-made furniture, pre-fabricated building materials) were imported from outside Sudan. Making IREC a 'glorified' primary school is really contrary to the education policy for the Sudan.

Considering the high rate of illiteracy in the area, the lack of school facilities and the enormous problems in providing schools for a growing school age population, low cost primary education should be the norm, with a more relevant curriculum based on the needs of the vast rural majority. To date there are many teachers who serve in rural primary

schools established through self-help community initiatives. These need to be assisted with provision of relevant textbooks, and adequately trained community teachers. IRECs should be instrumental in the production of relevant books and training of teachers for such schools.

This points to the necessity of implementing the IREC concept in a more realistic manner. The main point is how much can be achieved through the rural primary schools and teachers, and how much can be complemented by aid agencies supporting community schools and teachers?

3 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Community participation has been perceived in terms of sharing in consultations, deliberations, decision-making, implementation of project objectives and mobilization of local resources, human and material. In the case of IRECs, it was clear that community participation was hardly encouraged. People were ignored and decisions were made on their behalf by the government and the UNESCO experts. Yet they were expected to contribute their share of resources in what was expected to be for their benefit. It is not, however, uncommon with development projects for authorities at the centre to make all the decisions, impose them on the clientele and then expect them to believe that they are part of the decision-making machinery and therefore to be partners in the implementation process.

Such a manipulation of the rural people inevitably leads to conflict of perceptions of objectives among the different groups involved - teachers, parents, government planners and aid agencies. In order to avoid such problems, planners need to be more responsive to the community's felt needs, defined by the rural people themselves.

At the policy level, the IREC concept was to be implemented in other rural primary schools, but by 1984 all IREC activities had ended. The number of IREC schools, which was expected to reach a maximum of eighty by the same year, had barely progressed beyond four centres. It can be claimed that along with a number of constraints indicated earlier, community apathy towards the project played a major role in its failure. Planners must not forget that what goes on in the school is in reality determined by what is happening in the wider society, and especially in the modern sector economy which has long ordained the attitudes and aspirations of individuals and the community.

It is not surprising that the community members regarded teachers as school masters, concerned primarily with teaching the community's children. Evidence from this study suggests that parents see the importance of the teacher only in terms of their children's success in examinations. Rarely are teachers regarded as community workers and leaders, capable of introducing changes in the rural community. Evidence also shows that members of the community rarely involve themselves in

school matters, which they regard as the sole responsibility of the teacher. This clearly shows the weak link between the school and the teachers on one hand, and the members of the community on the other.

There is a need to identify who among the community would be able to mobilize the rural communities and organise them into an active group. Our study shows that in most cases teachers appear less able to perform this task, for reasons already explained. Futhermore, teachers, as agents of government, are also distrusted by the members of the community. There appear to be no institutions in the rural areas which have the trust of the people. In a sense, mobilization of the masses would be better achieved through the medium of the church.

Though it is believed that education is an important component in rural transformation in developing countries, in fact rural primary schools and teachers are not well adapted to deal with the community's problems. They generally do not deal with health, agricultural and community issues. Schools lack facilities and equipment for such purposes. The school curriculum is still out of line with the local environment and the teachers are not trained to undertake such responsibility.

What is now needed are practical strategies which can yield results, focussed on what can be achieved in school. Programmes are needed such as child to child, workshops and seminars focussed on rural problems where teachers can learn new skills, for example skills to

manipulate scientific principles in real life situations in areas like eradicating mosquitoes, making local manure, poultry and agricultural practices and other simple skills. The programmes need to be simple and on a small scale, easily manageable by teachers.

To sum up, the IREC scheme failed because its objectives were too ambitious and it attempted to accomplish too much within a short time. Some of the objectives required conducive high level policy decisions which were not taken, while others were not in agreement with the aspirations of the people. IREC implementation followed the much criticized 'top-down' approach in which teachers were not provided with opportunities to develop creative skills, and community participation was minimised.

5. ENVIRONMENTAL AND POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS

The success or failure of the IREC scheme must also be seen in the context of political and environmental factors which constrained its implementation.

Briefly, the following adversely affected the project:

Politically, Sudan as a whole has been in turmoil since Independence, but nothing as intensive and far-reaching as that achieved by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) after only three years of action. The declaration of Islamic Law (Sharia) in the Sudan in 1983 affected the

implementation of the second phase of the project. The political instability it created forced many aid agencies to delay their donations. Among them were the World Bank, the IMF and USAID.

One prospective donor for IRECs in the pipeline was Canada (CIDA) in conjunction with the British Council. The author had several consultation meetings in 1985 with the British Council representative in Southern Sudan about the possible continuation of the project. As noted in Chapter 10, the IREC project in the Southern Sudan never received official government sanction in terms of budgetary allocation. The central government manipulation of funds (aid) for Southern Sudan is not unknown, due to the distrust that exists between the North and the South.

However, as the political situation worsened, the expected experts, including the project leader, were advised to delay their travelling arrangements until the situation improved. It never did. The shooting down of a Sudanese civilian aeroplane killing all the crew and passengers in 1986 led to the cancellation of all flights to Southern Sudan. The SPLA also embarked on a series of kidnappings of foreign workers, leading to the closure of many development projects including IRECs.

The Northern government was also apathetic towards aid workers in the South. Increasingly it became suspicious of aid workers and eventually decided to terminate all aid agencies in Southern Sudan. Southern Sudan, with little decision making in the allocation of national

resources and with its own resources undeveloped, could not therefore continue with the project. Hence, the closure of the Southern Sudan by the civil war to the outside aid agences which could have otherwise continued to fund the IREC project was a major factor.

Concurrently with political events was the much publicised drought and famine. Both the government and the Liberation Army appear to use famine as weapons of war by preventing releief aid workers and food reaching the deprived people. In fact the civil war has driven people into destitution and despair. Communication between main towns became dangerous. River and air transport was disrupted. The result was poverty for the displaced people, ruined land, poor health services leading to deaths among children. Oxfam (1986) has this to say:

> The poor of Sudan starved in 1984, continued to starve in 1985, and will need a lot of help if they are not to starve in 1986 (p.1)

The hunger and poverty in Southern Sudan appear to be due to a complex combination of political, economic and environmental factors. What effective role could a primary school teacher, facing destitution himself, armed only with out-dated textbooks and the possibility of survival by traditional means, and with hardly any decision making powers, play in such a complex situation, which the central government is incapable of dealing with?

In conclusion, a complex interplay of factors ranging from

in-school factors, lack of understanding of the rural environment and its needs, to national and political forces were evident in contributing to the failure of the integrated rural education centre project in the Southern Sudan.

6. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Some of the ideas raised in this thesis, if implemented, would require a considerable commitment from all concerned: teachers, government authorities, aid agencies, and the local population. In this context it is necessary to study the ways in which local and central administration function, how planning decisions are made, and the ways and means of harmonizing the national and local level planning strategies. Too often planning decisions are made at the centre with insufficient consultation with the rural people. Such disregard for local people leads to contradictions and conflicts in objectives. Planning strategies require clear understanding of what the rural people need and want, and how teachers can help in realising their needs.

Government support is important if teachers are to get involved in collecting information and in curriculum design. Their involvement should be recognised by the government and the community, and should help to improve their status, commitment to their work, and generally increase morale and satisfaction. Both material and professional support are

important: material support would make their work less difficult and professional support would ensure that what they teach in the classroom reflects life outside in the community. Teachers should not be allowed to work from a position of poverty, community apathy and low status, if they are to be successful in their extended role.

It is important that teachers be allowed greater latitude in decision making. Currently teachers have to subscribe to what has been decided and outlined for them from the centre. If teachers are to carry out local studies, develop learning strategies, design teaching materials for use in schools and base their teaching on local conditions, central control must be eased. Variations between schools and regions must to a certain extent be permitted.

The Cianjur experience also shows that investment in professional development of teachers at the local level is important. If we accept the idea of teachers' groups, 'clubs' or 'centres', then efforts must be made to support them. As Hawes (1976) points out, the image of primary schools must be transformed from places where teachers are told things, to places where teachers 'discuss and decide and produce things'.

One of the findings of this study has been that rural primary school teachers in the district were inadequately trained to teach professionally. Their pedagogic orientation through the IREC project was insufficient to create in them proficiency in community development work. The study also

shows that the majority of those teachers who were trained were incapable of planning their teaching programmes around community problems and needs. There is hence a need to study how teachers should be selected and trained for special projects, taking the community's social, cultural and environmental conditions as a basis for designing the teacher training programme. This requires sustained efforts through initial teacher training and in-service education and training.

In conclusion, the rhetoric about the extended teacher role does not appear to hold under the conditions discussed in this thesis. Teachers themselves perceive their role in the community in the restricted sense and so does the community. The leadership and change agent roles are equally not emphasised by the teachers and the community at large. Teachers' leadership in the community will result when teachers ensure that innovation is reflected not only in the classroom but also in the community. These new ideas and strategies must, in the last analysis, be planned by them rather than for them.

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APPENDIX 1

INTEGRATING SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY IN AFRICA: A BRIEF SURVEY OF CONCEPTUAL ORIGINS

Formal education in Southern Sudan as elsewhere in the former British territories has historically been Christian Mission establishments with limited State involvement. In the Southern Sudan, State control of education began in 1926 when the State instituted the grants-in-aid system (Sanderson, 1962).

The educational policy between 1900-1926 was largely influenced by the Missions in East Africa across the border. Towards the end of the First World War, the Christian Missions with longer experience had now evolved an educational practice and policy which they believed to be more relevant and efficient. This was evident in the first International Missionary Conference (1910) which advocated an education relevant to the environment. The prime concern was with the nature of education to be given to the African Community.

In the Sudan, the Milner Commission (1921) instituted by the Anglo-Egyptian government laid down the policy-guidelines to be followed by the Missionary educators. The Commission recommended that southern education be adapted to the everyday needs of community life. Various Mission groups were encouraged not only to evangelise but to establish industrial schools and teach their converts a useful trade, 'for it would enhance African psychological development in relation to manual work' (Christopher Cox, Director of Education, 1935). The administration tended to favour the Roman Catholics, who, as Christopher Cox explained, 'wherever they were, they carried with them the principle of self-

supporting and self-sufficiency'. They placed a good deal of emphasis on industrial training and less exclusive emphasis on the propagation of the Gospel.

The Anglicans and some of the non-conformists tended to stress literary education. They were thus seen as not teaching the southerner to work. The Governor General (1904) advised the Church Missionary Society to establish simple forms of technical and industrial education in their sphere (Annual Report of CMS, 1904-5).

Lugard (1922), the principal exponent of native education in Nigeria and Sudan in the early 1920s, pointed out that education in Southern Sudan should be adapted to the existing local conditions of the people, in order to improve their lot. Education, according to him, was not to train people to ape Europeans and have desire for things European, but rather to train them to accept their traditional mode of life. He warned against a kind of education that would produce radicals (Sandersen, G.N., 1956, p.65). Lugard's educational policy was not wholly acceptable to the missionaries; and its implementation in Southern Sudan was to wait until the State involvement in education in 1926.

However, despite some missionary protestations, the content of education in the south was based on health, agriculture, preparation for home life and character development as suggested by the Milner Commission of 1921. The only difference between the missionary and the Milner Commission on education was that the Mission education was a detribalizing agent, while the Commission's education would have aimed at producing educated persons with a continued village and tribal identity.

In East Africa as in West Africa the Phelps-Stokes' Commission (1924) marked the drive towards the implementation of the concept of 'adaptation of education to the environment' (King, 1971) based on the American approach to negro education. In a sense, the Tuskegee and Hompton principles provided the basis for the educational policy in British Tropical Africa. The Jeanes Training school, started in 1925, was the practical result of the Phelps-Stokes' report. The programme aimed at training mobile educational supervisors and their wives in rural community oriented education (Anderson, 1970, pp.19-20). Husband and wife were trained to work with teachers and their wives in the rural countryside, helping them to build up their local school as a centre of community leadership and to demonstrate modern ways of doing things.

Anderson (1970) pointed out that the Jeanes school was the logical outcome of the earlier experiments in rural development which individual missions attempted on their own. But by 1939, the enrolment in the Jeanes school had almost become a mere trickle (Sifuna, 1976, p.13). In Southern Sudan the trade schools had a similar fate in 1935/36. The experiments with adaptation of education to rural conditions faced a number of factors which constrained their effectiveness.

First, it led to African reaction against the Colonial policy in African education. In Kenya, Africans began establishing their own independent schools in order to give their children the opportunity to continue their education in the usual academic way. In Southern Sudan (Government Report, 1936) parents withdrew their children from the trade schools and sent them to the academic primary and intermediate schools. Clearly parents and teachers did not accept second class education for their

children and themselves. This ingrained attitude has not been relinquished, as many reports in recent times show. Generally, rural families wished their children to qualify for the opportunities in higher schooling and modern sector jobs in the urban area.

Despite the widespread publicity and importance attached to adaptation of education to rural societies, the Christian Missions were horrified at their attempts to build upon tribal traditions, and the experiments were short lived (Sinclair and Lillis, 1980, p.34), nor did they receive widespread acceptance among the clientèle. The concept received new importance in the 1960s and 70s when countries like Tanzania and international organizations like The World Bank became interested in basic education adapted to rural needs, to cater for the vast majority of school children who fail to gain access to academic further education, and who in most cases need to be prepared for living and working in rural communities.

TABLE 1.13 DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHING STAFF BY LEVELS - SOUTHERN REGION - 1980/81

PROVINCE	TRAINED			UNTRAINED			TOTAL		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
BAHR-EL-GHAZAL	267	36	303	208	78	281	475	109	584
EASTERN EQUATORIA	335	172	507	333	114	447	668	286	954
JONGLEI	102	6	108	247	26	273	349	32	381
LAKES	126	12	138	191	38	229	317	50	367
WESTERN EQUATORIA	176	42	218	225	30	225	401	72	473
UPPER NILE	281	70	351	239	122	361	520	192	712
SOUTHERN REGION	1287	338	1625	1443	403	1846	2730	741	3471

TABLE 1.4 DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHING STAFF BY LEVELS - SOUTHERN REGION - 1980/81

PROVINCE	PRIMARY			INTERMEDIATE	SECONDARY		T.T.I
	GOVT.	GOVT. AIDED	SELF-HELP		ACAD.	TECH.	
BAHR-EL-GHAZAL	584	-	-	108	44	-	10
EASTERN EQUATORIA	954	224	95	296	67	50	-
JONGLEI	381	-	-	96	12	-	-
LAKES	367	30	8	83	23	18	11
WESTERN EQUATORIA	473	48	53	138	21	-	18
UPPER NILE	712	-	-	199	57	-	27
SOUTHERN REGION	3,471	302	156	920	224	68	66

APPENDIX III

Table 1.20 NUMBER OF TEACHING STAFF BY TRAINING AND SEX. NON-GOVT. PRIMARY SCHOOLS S.R. 1980/81

PROVINCE	TRAINED		UNTRAINED		TOTAL		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	T
BAHR-EL-GHAZAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E. EQUATORIA	103	35	167	14	270	49	319
JONGLEI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LAKES	7	1	30	-	37	1	38
W. EQUATORIA	35	3	60	5	95	6	101
UPPER NILE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTHERN REGION	145	39	257	19	402	56	458

Table 1.21 PUPIL/TEACHER, TEACHER/CLASS RATIOS AND % OF FEMALE TEACHERS - NON-GOVT. PRIMARY SCHOOLS 1980/81

PROVINCE	PUPIL/ TEACHER	TEACHER/ CLASS	% FEMALE
BAHR-EL-GHAZAL	-	-	-
E. EQUATORIA	56	0.59	15%
JONGLEI	-	-	-
LAKES	34	0.90	3%
UPPER NILE	-	-	-
W. EQUATORIA	35	0.90	6%
SOUTHERN REGION	50	0.66	13%

ANNEX VII

TONJ PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTE TIMETABLE 1980/81

(a) 1st Year

PERIODS / DAYS OF THE WEEK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MONDAY	Psychology	Physical Education		Maths	Arabic		Geography	Social and National Education
TUESDAY	Social and National Education	English		Geography	Science		Religion	Psychology
WEDNESDAY	Ma Mathematics Arabic			Religion	English	Rural Ed.	Arts	
THURSDAY	Arabic	Science		Maths Maths		English	Music and Drama	
FRIDAY	Social and National Education		Arabic					
SATURDAY	Rural Ed.	History		English	Religion	S o c i e t i e s		

(b) 2nd Year

PERIODS / DAYS OF THE WEEK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MONDAY	Arabic	Rural Education	Religion	English		Rural Ed.	Arts	
TUESDAY	Maths	Arabic		Social & Nat. Ed.	Regligion	Geog.	English	Music & Drama
WEDNESDAY	Arabic	Science		Psychology	Geography	English	Arabic	History
THURSDAY	Psychology	Physical Education		Science		Social & Nat. Ed.	Religion	English
FRIDAY	Mathematics		Psychology	Arabic	History			
SATURDAY	Mathematics		Psychology	Science		Sociology	Societies	

(c) 3rd Year

PERIODS / DAYS OF THE WEEK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MONDAY	Mathematics		Arabic	Psychology		History	Social & Nat. Ed.	Music & Dramaa
TUESDAY	Science		Religion	Mathematics		Arabic	History	Rura Education
THURSDAY	Maths	Arabic	English	Religion	Psychology	Religion	Social & National Education	
WEDNESDAY	English	Physical Education		Science				
FRIDAY	Science		Religion	English				
SATURDAY	Arabic	Geography		Arabic		English	Societies	

(d) 4th Year

PERIODS / DAYS OF THE WEEK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MONDAY	Maths	Arabic		Fine Art	Science	History	Maths	
TUESDAY	Maths	Arabic	Maths	Rural Ed.	Maths	Science		History
WEDNESDAY	Maths	Arabic		Advice	Rural Ed.	History	Geography	Science
THURSDAY	Maths	Arabic		Geography	Fine Arts	Science		
FRIDAY	Maths		Arabic	Geography				
SATURDAY	Maths	Arabic	Maths	Fine Art	Rural Ed.	Science	Maths	

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT TEACHERS:

Name of the Teacher _____

1. Name of the School _____

2. Full Primary _____ Subgrade _____

3. Number of classes in the School _____

4. Age of the teacher _____

5. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

6. Total number of pupils in the School _____

7. Levels of teachers education background:

   (i) Primary School from Year _____ to Year _____

   (ii) Intermediate School from Year _____ to Year _____

   (iii) Secondary School from Year _____ to Year _____

8. Teacher Trained: Yes _____ No _____

9. If trained:
   (i) Where (Name of College) _____

   (ii) Period of training : from Year _____ to Year _____

   (iii) State : Inservice _____ full course _____

10. Year of Appointment _____

11. Last date of promotion _____

12. Present salary
    (i) Per Year _____

    (ii) Per month _____

13. In which grade or scale are you?

_____

14. Are you satisfied with your present salary scale?

Thank you very much for your
Cooperation.

Teachers' Form

Non-IREC School Questionnaire Date completed _____

1. Name of the school _____ 2. Location _____

3. Name of enumerator _____

4. Name of Respondent _____ Position _____

5. Sex: Tick the appropriate column

Male	Female

5.1 How old are you? _____

5.2 Have you been to any of the following schools?
Primary, Intermediate, Secondary.

Yes	No

If yes, complete the following; if no, skip to 5.4.

5.2 (i) Primary school. year of entry _____

year of leaving _____

No. of years spent _____

Name of certificate obtained _____

5.2 (ii) Intermediate: year of entry _____

year of leaving _____

No. of years spent _____

Name of certificate obtained _____

5.2 (iii) Secondary: year of entry _____

year of leaving _____

No. of years spent _____

Name of certificate obtained _____

5.3 If he/she has not been to intermediate and secondary schools, ask him/her to give reasons. Other information about his/her education.

Reasons _____

_____

_____

_____

Other information about him/her education _____

_____

_____

_____

5.4 Have you had professional training?

If no, skip to 6.0

Yes	No

5.5 If yes, where?

5.6 Name of the college _____

5.7 Location of the college (tick)

Urban	Rural

5.8 Year of entry _____

Year of leaving _____

(i) Years spent _____

(ii) Awards _____

6.0 Have you attended some in-service courses?

Yes	No

If yes, mention and specify when and for how long?
If no, skip to 6.1.

_____

_____

_____

_____

6.1 How long have you been teaching? _____

6.2 How many different schools have you taught in since you became a teacher?

		Location	
School (Name)	Provinces	Urban	Rural
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

6.3 How long have you been teaching in this school? _____

6.4 How many subjects do you teach? _____

6.5 How many lessons per week? _____

7.0 Do you teach any of the following practical subjects to your students? (tick)

	Yes	No
Agriculture		
Health practices		
Handicrafts		
Knitting		
Others (specify)		

7.1 For ones ticked No. give reasons.

Reasons _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7.2 Which of the following teaching methods and activities do you use in your teachings most often?

Teaching Methods and activities	Frequency		
	Most often	often	Never
1. Lecture			
2. Class discussion			
3. Teaching aid from the local environments			
4. Demonstrating how to plant crops			
5. Inviting local craftsmen to talk to students			
6. Taking students out in the village, to study the community health, and crops			

7.3 If, some of the teaching methods and activities in Question 7.2 are not used, say why you do not use?

TEACHING METHODS	Reasons
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

7.4 Which of the following local organizations are you a member and specify your designations.

Local organizations	Membership	Designation
Local council		
Youth club		
Mothers Union		
Church Organization		
Voluntary Organization		
Cooperative Union		
Others (specify)		
Teachers' Trade Union		

7.5 What kinds of help do you give to the members of your Community?

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

7.6 What kinds of advice do members of the Community ask from you as regards to:

1. Health

2. Agriculture

3. Jobs

4. Others (specify)

7.7 What are the most serious problems of your school?

1.

2.

3.

4.

7.8 Why do you think they are most serious?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7.9 How much, are you satisfied with your work as a teacher?
(tick one column only)

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	No Response

7.10 Suggest reasons for the ticked Column in Question 7.9

_____

_____

_____

7.11 Do you think that you will further your teaching for another ten years?
(tick one answer only).

Certainly yes	yes, likely	No, unlikely	No, certainly not

Expected to be retired	No response

7.12 If you could start your life all over again. What occupation would you likely to have?

_____

_____

8. Have you ever been asked by the members of your community to advise them on:-

	Yes	No
Modern agricultural practice ----------		
Health problems ----------		
Cooperative movements ----------		
Adult literacy classes ----------		
Nutrition problems ----------		
Child-Care problems ----------		
Others (specify)		

8.1 Which of the following personal assistance/s do you often render to the membership of the rural Community around your school?

	Very often	Often	Not often	N.R.
Register for loan of money				
" " Letter writing				
" " Medicine				
" to explain government				
" policy				
" to approach government				
" for help				
Others (specify)				

8.2 Would you mention the problems which seriously affect your help to the Community?

8.3 Why they are most serious to you?

8.3 Comment from respondents:

8.5 Comments from enumerator:

Time started interview _____ Time abandon interview _____

Checked by _____ Date: _____

Questions for Headmasters/Headmistress
of IREC Primary School

1. Name of the school _____ 2. Location _____

3. Name of respondent _____ 4. Sex:

Male	Female

5. How many years have you been the headmaster/headmistress of this school?

_____ years.

6. How many other schools have you been the headmaster/headmistress?

_____ school.

7. Locate the distribution of these schools according to the below table.

Name of the school	Province	Location: Urban	Location: Rural

8. How many years of experience do you have as headmaster/headmistress?

_____

9. How old are you? _____

10. Have you heard of the IRECS?

Yes	No

11. If yes, what is IRECS about?

_____

_____

12. People have different views about IRECS. Some think that it is stretching teachers role too far. Others think that teachers should help in aomse community development activities. What is your views?

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. How popular is IRECS activities among your teachers, compared to class-room teaching? (tick the related column)

Much more popular	More popular	Same	Less pop.	Much less pop.

14. Which activities in the community have your teachers accomplished?

1.

2.

3.

15. Are those activities mentioned in (14) have been been very successful?

Yes	No

16. If No, why?

_____

_____

_____

17. Do you think IRECS is popular among the members of the rural community?

Yes	No

18. If yes, how popular?

Very popular	More popular	Same	Less pop.	Much less pop.

19. Do you think teachers should continue with this Community oriented activities?

Yes	No

20. If No, why? _____

_____

21. Have you received any complaints from your techers about their new roles in the community?

Yes	No

22. If yes, what complaints? (specify)

_____

_____

_____

23. A great deal of money has been spent to establish IRECS. Some people think it would have been of greater benefit to primary schools if these resources could have been used to improve the conditions of schools and teachers salaries. What do you say?

_____

_____

_____

_____

24. Do you feel that IRECS at your school has:

(tick)

Too much material and equipment?	
Sufficient material and equipment?	
Not sufficient material and equipment?	
No response (N.R.)	

25. Some people believe that teachers in rural primary schools should be fully responsible for activating improvements in the condition of the rural people. What is your opinion?

_____

_____

_____

_____

26. What roles have you played in IRECS project as a head of this school?

1.

2.

3.

27. Which mistakes were made in the way IRECS was developed as part of your school duties?

1.

2.

3.

4.

28. What difficulties do you as a headmaster/headmistress experience in having IRECS at your school?

1.

2.

29. Were you headmaster/headmistress at this school or any other IRECS school at the time when IRECS was established in your school?
(tick)

Yes	No

30. Were you consulted by IRECS as much as you wish to be at the time?

Yes	No

31. How would IRECS need to be changed if it is to be extended to all rural primary schools in the Southern Sudan?

_____

_____

_____

32. In general, how well trained are your IREC teachers when compared with your other teachers in teaching their subjects? (tick)

Better	Slightly better	About the same	Worse	Slightly worse

33. Have you noticed any difference between IREC teachers and other teachers in their behaviour towards the members of the community?

Yes	No	N.R.

34. If yes, how different are they?

_____

_____

_____

35. In your opinion, are IREC teachers respected more, the same or less than the ordinary teachers by the members of the Community? (tick)

More	The same	Less	N.R.

36. Generally, are teachers in primary schools highly respected by the Community?

Yes	No	N.R.

37. If No, why? _____

_____

_____

38. Do you teach?

Yes	No

39. If yes, which subjects do you teach? _____

_____

_____

40. If No, why? _____

_____

_____

41. Which of the following local organization/s are you a member and specify your designation?

Organizations	Membership (tick)	Designation
School teacher/parent Council		
Local council		
Mothers' Union		
Church Organization		
Sudan Socialist Union		
Voluntary association		
Agricultural association		
Cooperative Union		
Others (specify)		

42. What kinds of help do members of the Community seek from you?

1.

2.

3.

4.

43. Do you readily assist them with what you mentioned in Question (42)?

Yes	No

44. If No, why? _____

_____

_____

_____

45. What kinds of advice do membersof the Community ask from you as regards to:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

46. In your opinion, do members of the Community respect rural primary school headmaster/headmistress very much?

Yes	No	N.R.

47. If No, why? _____

_____

48. Primary school teachers and headmasters are no longer respected as in the colonial days. Is this true?

Yes	No	N.R.

49. If yes, why? _____

_____

_____

50. During your careers as a teacher and headmaster/headmistress have you at anytime tried to do the following?

	Yes	No	When?
1. Raise money for starting a school			
2. Help to organize Community members to erect a new classroom			
3. Dig a well for the community			
4. Tell people to dig toilet pits			
5. Others (specify)			

51. What are the most serious problems of your school?

1.

2.

3.

4.

52. Why are the problems in Q. 51. most serious to your school?

_____

_____

_____

53. How satisfied are you with your school materials and equipments available for IRECS work? _____

_____

_____

54. How much extra allowances do IREC teachers get?

£	Don't know

55. How much extra allowances other teachers get?

£	Don't know

56. How often do you supervise your IREC teachers in their Community development activities? (tick)

Very often	Often	Not often	Not at all

57. Enumerator's Comments

Time started interview _____ Time ended interview _____

Checked by _____ Date _____

Questions for Members of the Rural Community

Date _____

1. Name of respondent _____ 2. Village _____

3. Subchief _____ 4. Chief _____

5. District _____ 6. Status _____
(position)

7. What do you do for earning a living?

8. What is your main job or occupation?

9. How much education have you had?

1. I never went to school
2. Some primary school
3. Completed primary school
4. Some secondary school
5. Sudan school certificate

10. Have you heard abour IRECs project? _____
Yes No
_____
_____

11. If yes, what is IRECs about?

_____

_____

_____

12. Who among the IREC teachers personally told you about IRECs?

_____

13. What were some of the IREC activities as you were told?

1.

2.

3.

4.

14. Have you participated in any of the following IREC activities?

1. Group discussion
2. Field trips
3. Community meetings
4. Demonstration classes
5. Literacy classes

15. Which of the following activities are being carried out in community by IREC teachers?

(a) Agricultural practice:

1. Improved seed varieties (hybrid)
2. Making green manure
3. Use of fertilizers
4. Measures to stop soil erosion
5. Mound seedling beds

(b) Poultry:

1. Making of poultry shed
2. Making feeders and water troughs
3. Making egg nests
4. Protection from ticks and predators

(c) Home Economics:

1. Demonstration of cooking food
2. Making porridge for both adult and infant
3. Preparing food for infants and lactating mothers and pregnant women
4. Preservation of food

(d) Fencing water at the source

(e) Methods of Sedimentation of water:

1. Filtering water
2. Boiling water

(f) Help organize cooperative labour

(g) Help build meeting place, school or health centre.

(h) Help organize community meetings.

(i) Help organize community festival.

16. What did you think about teachers' involvement in such activities (in Q15)?

_____

_____

_____

17. What did most other people in the area talk about teachers doing these activites (in Q15)?

_____

_____

_____

18. Did you personally, help teachers in explaining the IREC projects to your members of the community?

Yes No

_____

_____

19. If NO, why? _____

_____

20. Which of IREC activities have you been involved in?

_____

_____

21. Did you find these activities beneficial to you personally?

Yes No

_____

_____

22. If YES or NO, why?

_____

_____

23. IRECs project involves extending teachers' roles outside the school to include some activities such as teaching the community new agricultural skills, health education, etc. Do you think this is a good thing for teachers to do?

Yes No

_____

_____

24. If NO, why?

25. How useful has IRECs been to the members of the rural community?

_____

_____

26. It has been suggested that rural primary school teachers should help in community development work in rural areas. What is your opinion?

_____

_____

_____

27. How well respected are primary school teachers in your community area?

1. Very well respected
2. Not very well respected
3. Do not know.

28. If not well respected, why?

_____

_____

_____

29. Some people say that teachers are no longer respected by the community as used to be in the past, is this true?

Yes No

_____

_____

30. If YES, why?

31. In your opinion are primary school teachers capable of handling issues such as agriculture, health, food and cooperative problems?

Yes No

_____

_____

32. If NO, why?

33. If you were asked to choose a career for your child which one of the following would be your most likely choice (Tick one only)?

1. Medical Assistant
2. A Nurse
3. Primary school teacher
4. Cooperative Officer
5. Assistant Agricultural Officer
6. Community development worker
7. Others (specify)

34. Do you think IRECs should be continued?

Yes No

35. If YES or NO, why?

36. Do you have any additional information to be given about IRECs and the t eachers' involved in it?

Yes No

37. If YES, enumerate the information.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Enumerator's comment:

Checked by _____ Date _____

Primary School Teachers

IREC Teachers Questionnaire Date completed _____

Enumerator's name _____

1. Name of the school _____ 2. Location _____

3. Respondent's name _____ 4. Sex:

Male	Female

5. How old are you? _____ years

6. Details of education and training

Primary

7. When did you enter in primary school? _____

8. When did you leave primary school? _____

9. Total years spent in primary school _____

10. What certificate did you obtain? _____

_____

Intermediate

11. When did you enter intermediate school? _____

_____

12. When did you leave intermediate? _____

13. Total years spent in intermediate _____

14. What certificate did you obtain? _____

_____

Secondary school

15. When did you enter secondary school? _____

16. When did you leave secondary school? _____

17. Total years spent _____

18. What certificate did you obtain? _____

_____

19. Others (specify if any)

20. Have you had any professional training?

Yes	No

21. If yes, complete the following if No, skip to Q.23.

Name of the college _____

Year of entry _____

Year of leaving _____

Certificate awarded _____

_____

Outside Sudan	In Sudan

22. What were you specifically trained on?

1.

2.

3.

4.

Others (specify)

23. What practical things did you do while on training?

1.

2.

3.

24. How long have you been teaching?

_____

25. How many different schools have you taught in, since you became a teacher?

_____ different schools.

Then complete the table below.

Name of the school Province	Location: Urban	Location: Rural

26. How long have you been teaching in this school? _____ years

27. Have you ever been transferred?

Yes	No

28. If yes, how many times? _____

29. Are those transfers too frequent or not (tick)

Too freq.	Not freq.

30. Are you willing to have too frequent transfer?

Yes	No

31. If yes or No, why? _____

_____

_____

_____

32. How many subjects do you teach? _____

Name them: 1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

33. How many lessons do you teach per week? _____

34. Do you teach any of these subjects as specified in IRECs new primary school syllabus (probe)

Agriculture _____

_____

Health education _____

_____

Earning a living _____

_____

How to keep a home _____

_____

Knitting _____

_____

Specify any others we left out

1.

2.

3.

4

35. Do you find any problems with teaching of this new syllabus?

Yes	No

36. If yes what problems?

1.

2.

3.

37. Which of the following teaching methods and activities do you use in your teaching most often (regularly) this year?

Teaching Methods and Activities	Frequence Most often	Often	Never
Lecture			
Class discussion			
Teaching aid from the local environment			
Demonstrating how to plant crops			
Inviting local craftsmen to talk to students			
Taking students out in the village to study the Community health and crops			

38. If some of the teaching methods and activities in (Q.37) are not used, say why you do not use?

Teaching Methods and Activities	Reasons
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	

39. Which of the following activities have you been involved in during this school year in the Community? (complete the details for any activity mentioned)

(tick and prove)

Fencing the water at the source

filtering water

boiling drinking water demonstration
Covering drinking water pot

Demonstrating new methods of agricultural practice (probe)

Prepare seed beds

Making of a poultry shed

Demonstrating of cooking food

Preservation of food for infants and lactating Mothers and pregnant women

Organizing cooperative labour

40. What are the serious problems for you which unable you to carry out these activities in (Q.39) amongst the members of the Community?

1. 2.

3. 4.

5. 6.

7 8.

41 What additional comment would you like to give mainly relating to you role as teacher and Community development worker?

_____

_____

_____

42. Which of the following local organizations are you a member and specify your designation.

Local organizations	Membership	Designation
Local council		
Youth club		
Mothers Union		
Church Organization		
Voluntary Organization		
Cooperative Union		
Others (specify)		
Teachers' Trade Union		

43. In which school would you most like to teach?
(tick the most likely one)

Urban area

Rural area

Rural area near the town

Rural area near the main road

44. Are you married?

Yes	No

45. Is you wife educated?

Yes	No

46. If yes, what is her educational attaintment?

_____

47. Is this your own home area?

Yes	No

48. If No, which is your home district?

---

49. What are the languages spoken by the members of the Community around this school?

1.

2.

3.

50. Do you speak them?

Yes	No

51. If No, which language do you speak?

---

52. Is your father educated?

Yes	No

53. If yes, complete the below table, if No go to (Q.34)

School	Years spent	Certificate obtained
Primary		
Intermediate		
Secondary		
University		

54. How many homes of pupils have you visited this year? last year?

No. of pupils this year	No. of pupils last year

55. Why do you visit your pupils home?

_____

_____

_____

56. What kinds of advice do members of the Community ask from you as regards to:

1. Health

2. Agriculture

3. Jobs

4. Their children

5. Others (specify)

57. What are the serious problems of your school?

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

58. Why do you consider them most serious?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

59. Do your school materials, equipment and facilities are satisfactory provided?

Yes	No

60. Are there any materials, which are greatly needed for IRECs work in the Community but have not provided at your school?

Yes	No

61. If yes, what are they?

_____

_____

_____

62. How greatly these materials in (Q.61) would help you in your work among the members of the Community?

_____

_____

_____

63. Do you think it is easier to get these materials?

Yes	No

64. Do you use local materials when there are no government supplied materials to your school?

Yes	No

65. What are the major problems for IREC teachers in this Community?

66. Which mistakes were made in the way IRECs was developed as part of your school duties?

1. 2. 3.

67. Are you satisfied with your work as a teacher?

Yes	No

68. If No, why?

_____

_____

_____

69. Do you think that you will teach for another ten years?

Yes	No

70. If you could start your life all over again, what occupation would you like to have?

_____

71. What kind of training if any, have you had in the following subjects? (probe)

1. Agriculture _____

_____

2. Community development _____

_____

3. Health education _____

_____

4. Rural education _____

_____

5. Adult education _____

_____

6. Home economics _____

_____

7. Mothers - care _____

_____

8. Nutritional service _____

_____

72. For most households what is the major source of water and how far it is from the homestead (on average)

Season	dry	wet
Source		
Distance		

73. Do you or any member of your household have any source of income apart from your salary?

Yes	No	N.R.

74. If yes, what source?

_____

_____

_____

75. In what ways can land be acquired by the people in this area?

1. inheritance
2. Chief's appointment
3. Buying
4. Using land belonging to someone else
5. Others

76. Which methods of growing crops do your members of the community use?

_____

_____

77. Do you have any land here?

Yes	No

78. If yes, what type of crops do you grow?

_____

_____

_____

79. Which methods of growing crops do you use?

_____

_____

_____

80. What is the major source of getting food for you and your family?

1. grow my own food crops

2. buy from local market

3. provided by my relatives

4. others.

81. In the past 18 months were any of the following unavailable when you wanted to buy them?

	Unavailable	Available	N.R.
Hired labour			
Hoes			
Seeds			
Insecticides			
Fertilizers			

82. For any one ticked available, where is it got from?

83. Do you have a health clinic in your school?

Yes	No

84. Were you trained by IRECs in Medical practice?

Yes	No

85. If yes, what health problems were you trained to deal with?

_____

_____

_____

The following set of questions seek to elicit information on Adult literacy and cooperative education:

86. Have you organized any adult literacy classes for the members of the Community?

Yes	No

87. If No why?

_____

_____

88. If yes, when do you teach them? (time of the day) _____

_____

_____

_____

89. Do you have enough time for your normal class work?

Yes	No

90. What special problems do you find in organizing adult literacy with the Community members?

_____

_____

_____

These set of questions seek to indicate how you feel about IRECs (tick (v) in the No. where you feel is the right answer?

91. My experience in IRECs programme has not been beneficial to me personally?

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

92. Do your services in IRECs been a valuable educational experience to you and learned much?

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

93. IRECs should be introduced in all other primary schools in the southern Sudan?

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

94. I have never understood IRECs objectives well.

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

95. A great deal of money has been spent on IRECs. Some people think it would have been of greater benefit to primary schools if this money was used to improve teachers salaries and provide better facilities in other schools

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

96. Some people believe that IREC teachers should be fully involved in Community development work. What do you say?

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

97. Is your level of general education and the IRECs training are just right for working with the community?

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response

98. It was easy implementing IRECs project because rural people accepted the idea readily.

1. Strongly agreed

2. Agreed

3. Strongly disagreed

4. Disagreed

5. No response